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MONOGRAPHS ON ARTISTS



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EDITED, AND WRITTEN JOINTLY WITH OTHER AUTHORS,

BY

H. KNACKFUSS

I.

RAPHAEL

BIELEFELD AND LEIPZIG
VELHAGEN & KLASING
NEW YORK. LEMCKE & BUECHNER

1899

BY

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TRANSLATED BY

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WITH 128 ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PICTURES AND DRAWINGS



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RAPHAEL'S PORTRAIT OF HIMSELF, in the Uffizi, Florence



RAPHAEL.

“**H**OW liberal and kindly heaven shows itself sometimes in bestowing on a single person the infinite store of its treasures and all those graces and rarest gifts which it is wont to distribute among many individuals in a long space of time, may be clearly seen in the no less excellent than gracious Raphael Sanzio of Urbino; who was by nature endowed with all that modesty and kindness which may sometimes be seen in those who beyond others have added to a refined and gentle nature the beautiful ornament of a charming courtesy, which is wont to show itself ever sweet and pleasant to all kinds of persons and in all manners of things. He was nature's gift to the world, when, vanquished by art in the hands of Michelangelo Buonarroti, she was willing in Raphael to be vanquished by art and manners at once.”

With these words Giorgio Vasari, who wrote in the 16th century the lives of famous Italian artists from Cimabue to himself, begins the life of the immortal master, who brought the art of the Italian Renaissance to its utmost perfection, and who shares with the giant Michelangelo this supreme glory, that his works, like the creations of classical antiquity, count with all posterity as unsurpassable.

Raffaello Santi (or Sanzio) first beheld the light of day on Good Friday (28th March) in the year 1483. His native place, Urbino, situated on the North-East side of the Apennines in the Marches of Ancona, near the frontiers of Tuscany and Umbria, was the capital of a small Duchy, which belonged to the valiant and art-loving family of Montefeltro. Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi, was a painter of repute, who painted pictures of saints, full of thoughtfulness and reverence. In his youth he had made trial of several occupations before he turned his attention to art; among other things he had composed a rhyming chronicle in praise of the deeds of the Duke Federigo Montefeltro. Of Raphael's mother, Magia, to whose memory he doubtless owed the inspiration of his heavenly Madonnas, those revelations of a mother's love and a mother's bliss transfigured, we know no more than that she was the daughter of a certain Giovanni Battista Ciarli at Urbino, that she presented her husband with another son, besides Raphael, and a daughter (both of whom died in early childhood), and that

she herself died as early as 7th October, 1491. A fresco painted by Giovanni Santi in the house, still standing, in which Raphael was born, representing the Madonna with the child asleep, is supposed to be a picture of his wife Magia with the little Raphael. Giovanni can only have grounded his son in the first rudiments of his art, for he died on 1. August, 1494, after marrying a second time, in 1492. Raphael's actual teacher, according to Vasari's account, was Pietro Vannucci, called "il Perugino" (born 1446,



Fig. 1. THE KNIGHT'S DREAM. In the National Gallery, London.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

died 1524), the head of what is called the Umbrian School of painting, whose special characteristic is a tender, poetical feeling combined with a certain timidity of expression in form and colour. But Vasari is evidently mistaken in his story that Giovanni Santi himself brought the boy to Vannucci at Perugia during his mother's lifetime. Raphael probably entered the studio at the age of seventeen, for up to the year 1500 the master's engagements kept him almost constantly employed for years together at a distance from Perugia. There is no record to show who was the young

Santi's instructor up to that time. Since the year 1495 an excellent painter, Timoteo Viti, a native of the place, had been settled at Urbino. He was born in 1467, and received his training at Bologna under Francesco Francia. The supposition that Viti was Raphael's teacher is exceedingly probable, especially as Raphael stood in friendly relations with him in later years. At any rate when Raphael came to Perugino he brought with him not only his native talent, but a preliminary training of no mean order. A few charming little pictures are extant, which are supposed on good grounds to have



Fig. 2. FROM THE VENETIAN SKETCHBOOK.

been painted while Raphael was still at Urbino, for, with all the excellence of their execution, they are somewhat childish in design and betray in no respect the influence of the school of Perugia, which was to become so powerful at a later stage. The most remarkable of these small pictures is in the National Gallery at London, and is known by the name of "The Knight's Dream". In a rich landscape a youth in armour lies asleep under a small tree; on one side a comely woman, decked with pearls, approaches and offers him flowers; on the other side a lady of more severe aspect advances with a sword in one hand, a book in the other. The meaning of the picture explains itself (Fig. 1). Another small picture, in the Louvre at Paris, represents the Archangel Michael, who has plunged from heaven in full armour to smite down with his sword the Evil One, in the shape of a dragon, who writhes in impotent fury under the mailed foot of the celestial warrior. The scene of the action is Hell; frightful monsters stand round glowering, and in the distance, before the flaming citadel of Hell and between gloomy rocks, the penalties of hypocrites and thieves are depicted in accordance with Dante's poem. A representation of the rivalry between Apollo and Marsyas, also in the Louvre, may be regarded as the earliest of all the extant works of Raphael's youth, for it is still more childish than the rest, and makes no



Fig. 3. FROM THE VENETIAN SKETCHBOOK.

pretence to effectiveness of colouring, which is one of the great charms of the other pictures. Among these precious early works is also to be reckoned a picture in the Duc d'Aumale's collection, representing the Three Graces, in which a group—borrowed from some antique work of art—of three maidens holding one another in an embrace is placed in a wide, open landscape.

In various collections drawings are preserved, which pass as works of Raphael's early youth, without any external or internal evidence in support of the assumption. The Academy at Venice possesses the largest collection of drawings professedly derived from

Raphael's early years, in a sketch-book which has been broken up into separate leaves (Fig. 2, 3, 4). There we find copies drawn from heads and figures by various masters, exercises in drawing from memory, schemes for pictures, studies of drapery drawn strictly in the manner of the school, and studies from nature of various kinds, among them some heads of remarkable beauty. The authorship of Raphael in the case of this sketch-book has been maintained and disputed with equal zeal; according to the view of the connoisseurs whose opinion carries most weight it belongs to Pinturicchio. Bernardino Betti, called "il Pinturicchio" (the little painter), was, next to Perugino, his senior by a few years, the most excellent painter of the school of Perugia; there is no doubt that Raphael learned much from him as well. The examination of the leaves of the Venetian sketch-book, apart from the intrinsic interest which it possesses, is extremely attractive, because it offers a concrete illustration of the nature of the Umbrian school, which Raphael entered and to which he was soon able to adapt himself completely. A lively reciprocity of action and reaction developed itself between the master and the pupil. It is believed that improvements may be observed in Perugino's

works of the early years of the 16th century, as compared with his earlier productions, which may be accounted for by the influence of Raphael's fresh talent; and Raphael, for his part, completely assimilated his master's manner of conceiving and representing his subjects. There seem even to have been occasions when the master painted from the designs of the pupil. The converse case was not infrequent; in Italy, just as in Germany, artists whose practice was large left the execution of their less important works to their assistants; in such a case the name of the master covered the achievement of the pupil; but with the glory of Raphael's name so soon outshining all others it seems easy to conceive that, even in the eyes of contemporaries, the master who invented the design might disappear behind the pupil who carried it out. A similar relationship seems also to have existed for a time between Pinturicchio and Raphael. At least the earliest Madonnas painted by Raphael are based on drawings which are ascribed with the greatest probability to Pinturicchio. It is not, indeed, absolutely necessary on that account to suppose that the young painter was commissioned by the elder to carry out orders which were originally given to the latter; we may also imagine that the shy beginner, who was receiving his first commissions, may have turned to his experienced fellow-artist for advice, and that the latter may have placed designs of his own at the former's disposal as models which he might safely copy. As a matter of fact the patterns put before learners in the studios of that period consisted merely of the works of the teacher, and nobody took offence if a pupil occasionally made use in a picture of his own of some study by his master which he had copied for practice. That is the explanation of the echoes and direct repetitions which we not infrequently encounter in the works of different painters who proceeded from the same school; our own conscientious striving after originality at any price in every



Fig. 4. FROM THE VENETIAN SKETCHBOOK.



Fig. 5. THE THREE SAINTS. In the Royal Museum, Berlin.

stroke of the brush was quite unknown to that time. Raphael's peculiar style and his special gift for natural beauty of form are not to be mistaken even in the works which he produced during the time which he spent in the school at Perugia. His two earliest pictures of Madonnas belong to the Berlin Museum: the Madonna with St. Jerome and St. Francis (also called "the picture of the three Saints", Fig. 5), and the "Solly Madonna", so called from its former owner (Fig. 7). With these two pictures is associated a third, a small circular painting, which remained till 1871 in the Conestabile Palace at Perugia, but has been since then in the Hermitage collection at St. Petersburg. They are sacred pictures, not attempting to depart from the treatment of the subject fixed by long tradition, true products of the Umbrian school, still mediaeval to a large degree, but infinitely charming



Fig. 6. STUDY FOR THE HEAD OF ST. JEROME IN THE
PICTURE OF THREE SAINTS AT BERLIN.

Drawing in the Lille Museum.

tion, a fresh eye for natural beauty reveals itself at every point. The study of a head for the aged Jerome in the picture of three Saints at Berlin, a drawing preserved in the Wicar Museum at Lille (Fig. 6), is a nice example of Raphael's manner of making studies from nature during his apprenticeship at Perugia. It is agreeable to observe how the young artist turned over in his mind the extremely simple idea of the traditional picture of the Madonna, which seemed to leave so little room for the play of fancy, and how, through very slight deviations from it, he obtained new forms, which he perpetuated in slight sketches or more careful drawings. For instance a beautiful, large chalk drawing (Fig. 9) in the collection of the Archduke Albert (the Albertina) at Vienna resembles both the Solly Madonna and the Conestabile, but yet is different again from both and forms a complete and harmonious

in their delicacy and gentleness. The Virgin Mary appears in all of them as the half-length figure of a very young girl, veiled like a nun, with pale, refined countenance and downcast eyes; the naked infant Christ, whom she holds on her lap or in her hands, looks wise beyond his years; here he raises his little hands in blessing towards the two saints; there he grasps in his hand a bird by way of toy, in childish fashion, but turns his eyes with a serious look to heaven; there again he cons devoutly the book of prayers which his mother is reading. The backgrounds consist of distant views under a light-blue sky, and these exquisite, fragrant landscapes contribute not a little to produce the poetical sentiment which is peculiar to these pictures. Without regard to the restrictions of school tradition, Raphael's art reveals itself at every point. The in the picture of the three Saints,



Fig. 7. THE SOLLY MADONNA.
In the Royal Museum, Berlin.

picture in itself; a remarkable feature of this design is that the child is occupied in true childish fashion with a pomegranate, which the Virgin holds up to him, while she has laid her book of prayers aside for a moment. A precious little pen-drawing in the Oxford Gallery (Fig. 10) reveals the whole fragrant charm of a direct first design: the Virgin's look of heavenly graciousness as she contemplates the boy, and his devout upward gaze as



Fig. 8. THE CONESTABLE MADONNA. In the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

he holds her prayer-book in the grasp of his little hands, are thrown off with a few expressive lines. On the back of the sheet (Fig. 11) the boy is drawn on a larger scale and in a more finished style, with delicate yet firm lines; in these lovely outlines we divine the whole beauty of Raphael's later figures of children.

In the year 1502 Perugino took up his abode at Florence. Raphael, however, still remained at Perugia. He was already entrusted with the execution of a large altar-piece. As a commission from a lady of one of



Fig. 9. SKETCH FOR A MADONNA. Charcoal drawing, Albertina, Vienna.

the most powerful families of Perugia, Maddalena degli Oddi, he painted a Coronation of the Virgin for the altar of the Franciscan church of that place (Fig. 12). The picture, now in the Vatican gallery, shows in its lower half the Apostles surrounding the empty tomb of the Virgin, from which lilies and roses grow; Christ appears above the clouds and places



Fig. 10. SKETCH FOR A MADONNA. Pen-drawing in the Oxford Gallery.

ment of his subject (British Museum, London, Fig. 14). If we find Raphael in the picture of the Coronation still quite dependent, in respect of the whole arrangement of the picture and the type of the heads, on the school of Perugino, who was painting the same subject about the same time for a church near Perugia, we, nevertheless, observe also how far the pupil already excelled the master as regards beauty and vivacity. How the power of Raphael, still a lad under twenty, was stirring to rise above the limitations of the traditions of the school, how fast he outstripped the very masters of that school, we have the best opportunity of recognising in the present situation of the picture; quite close to it, in the same room, hangs a representation of the same subject by Pinturicchio; in comparing the two, the advantage of Raphael, founded on his personal

the heavenly crown on the head of his mother to the jubilant music of the angelic hosts. A number of extant studies inform us as to Raphael's method of preparation for the work. Thus we recognise in the beautiful portrait-head of a youth (Fig. 13, in the Lille Museum), perhaps a comrade in the studio, the study for the countenance of the angel, who stands with a tambourine on the Virgin's right; on the other hand, in the study for the head of the angel with the violin who stands on the opposite side, the young master even in the act of drawing from nature has idealised the treat-



Fig. 11. BACK OF THE SAME SHEET, a larger drawing of the child (Oxford Gallery).

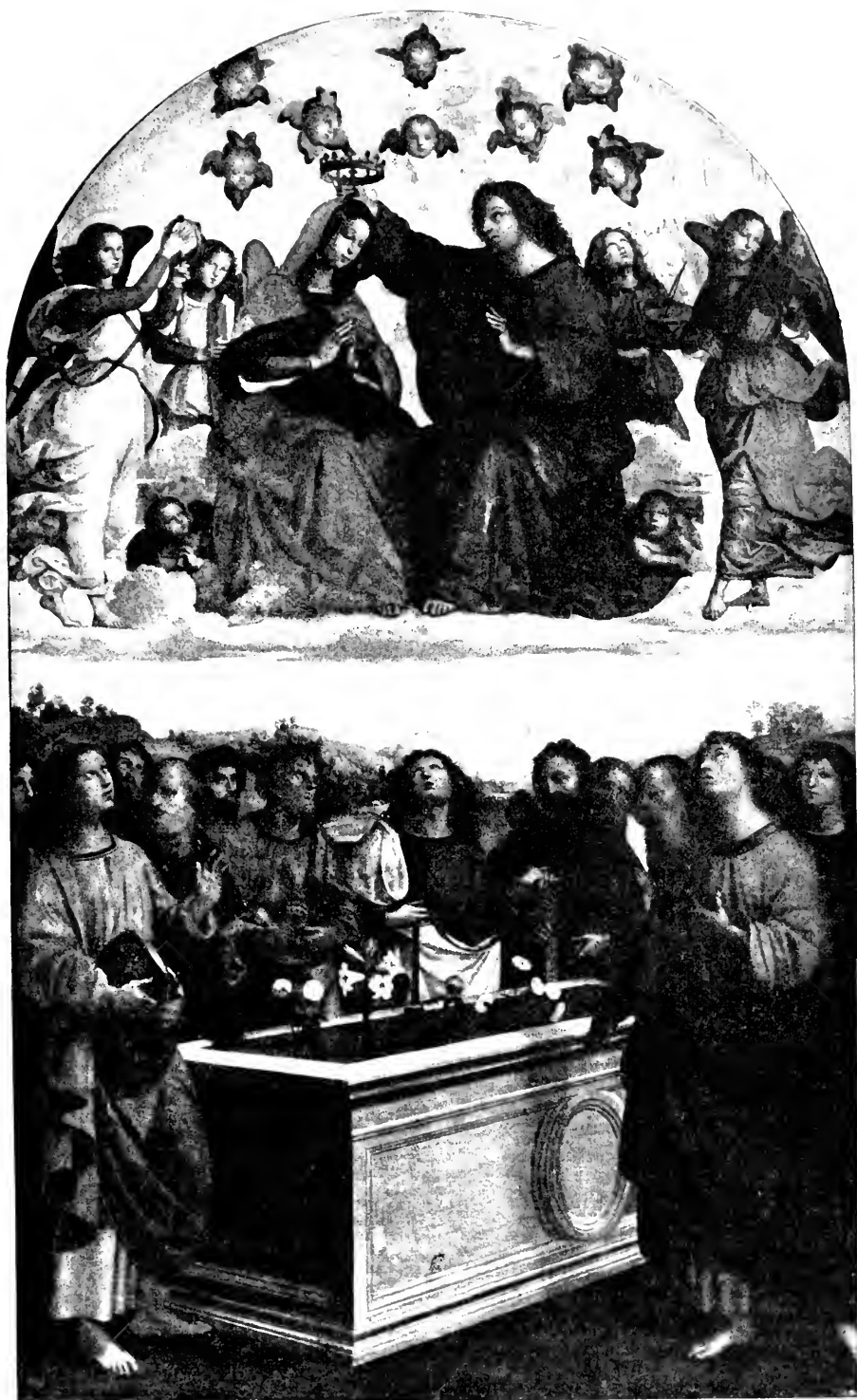


Fig. 12. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. Vatican Gallery.



Fig. 13. STUDY OF A HEAD FOR AN ANGEL IN THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.
Silver-point drawing in the Lille Museum.

qualities, is most conspicuous. As an altar-piece the picture of the Coronation had also a "predella", a gradine decorated with smaller pictures, by which it was raised above the holy table itself. Separated from the principal picture, this predella is to be found also in the Vatican collection. The Annunciation, the Adoration of the three Magi and the Presentation in the Temple form the subjects of the predella - pictures. In these small paintings Raphael has moved with still more freedom and

independence of the school than in the principal picture. The cartoons, or preparatory drawings for the first two subjects on the scale in which the paintings were carried out, are still extant, one in the Louvre (Fig. 15), the other in the Museum at Stockholm; in the case of the Annunciation, where Raphael has placed the scene in a wide hall with columns in order to fill up in an interesting way the space of the picture, which is very wide in proportion to the small number of figures, we see how the cartoon has been used to transfer the drawing to the panel: the outlines drawn with the pen are perforated with pin-holes to allow powdered charcoal to pass through. If we here get a peep into Raphael's method of workmanship, we have a view of his intellectual studio, so to speak, in a precious sketch in the Oxford Gallery (Fig. 16), which fixes in a few firm and expressive pen-lines the principal group of the third picture of the predella.

About a day's journey to the North of Perugia, in the upper valley of the Tiber, lies the little town of Città di Castello. Hither Raphael was led by several commissions after the completion of the Coronation of the Virgin. He first painted here, according to Vasari's narrative, a picture for the church of San Agostino, quite in Perugia's manner. The biographer

does not state the subject of this painting. Tradition, however, has indicated as a youthful work of Raphael an altar-piece which stood in this church until the year 1789, namely the Coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino. In that year the picture was sold, and then, being painted on canvas, which was very unusual, it was cut up into separate pieces, which have disappeared and left no trace. A more favourable destiny has ruled over the two other pictures painted at Città di Castello, which Vasari mentions expressly by name. One, representing the dead Christ on the Cross, with Mary, John, the Magdalen and Jerome, conceived and executed quite in the manner of Perugino, belonged to the church of San Domenico; it is now in a private collection in London. The third picture, the marriage of the Virgin (Fig. 17), finished, according to the inscription, in the year 1504, was the

ornament of an altar in the church of San Francesco till towards the end of the last century; it is now in the collection of the Brera at Milan. This masterpiece of Raphael's Umbrian period, known to the world by the name of "lo Sposalizio", represents in front of a round building, which stands for the Temple at Jerusalem, the High-Priest joining the hands of the betrothed couple; behind Mary appears a train of maidens, behind Joseph are the rejected suitors of whom we are told in the legend; they hold barren wands in their hands, while



Fig. 14. STUDIES FOR ANOTHER ANGEL IN THE SAME PICTURE.
British Museum.

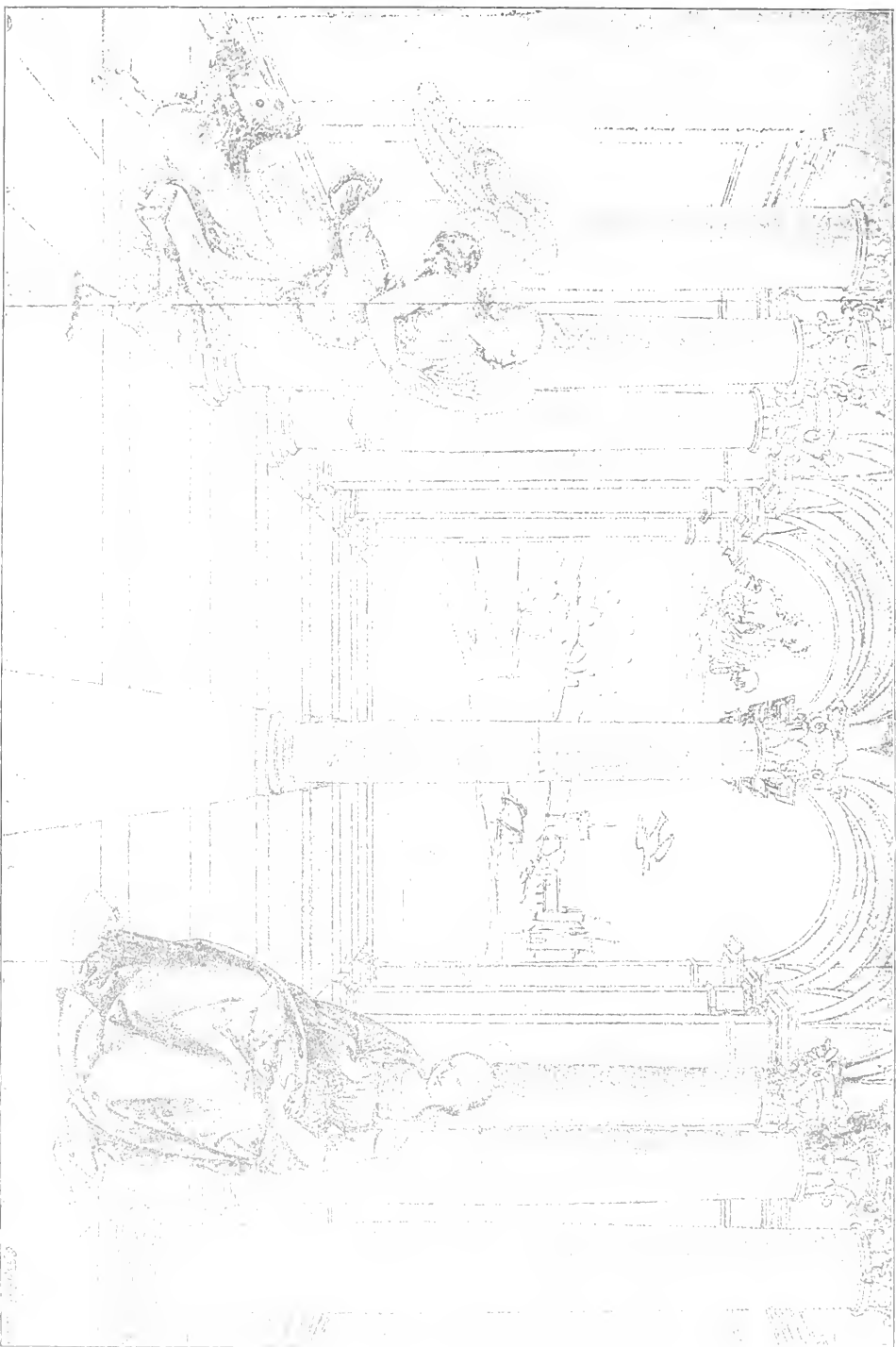


FIG. 15. CARTOON FOR THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. In the Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 16. SKETCH (at Oxford) FOR THE PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE on the same predella.

flowers have sprouted from Joseph's wand; two of them are breaking their wands, the barrenness of which is the sign vouchsafed by heaven of their rejection, one with a certain self-possession, the other, in the foreground, with violent emotion. In this picture Raphael has once more guided himself closely in the whole arrangement and grouping by a similar work of Perugino; but, even to the smallest details, he has infinitely surpassed his model in spirit, freedom, life and beauty; his eminent talent for the art of architecture, which he was to find brilliant opportunities of proving in later years, displays itself in the tasteful design of the temple.

While Raphael was working at Città di Castello, Pinturicchio was engaged in adorning with frescoes the Cathedral library at Siena, as a commission from Pope Pius III. Vasari reports that the painter sent for Raphael to Siena to assist him with the cartoons for these wall-paintings. In this information there is nothing incredible; Raphael at the age of scarcely one-and-twenty might very well consent with pleasure to act as the assistant of a man from whom he had learnt so much. It would be a fruitless effort, indeed, to endeavour to find the traces of Raphael's co-operation in the masterly creation of Pinturicchio; for if an older painter

trusts a younger one so far as to allow him to help in a great work, yet he does not usually permit him to introduce anything of his own. At any rate Raphael did not stay long at Siena. He was anxious to become acquainted with Florence, the chief seat of art in Italy at that time, where, too, his former teacher had set up his studio. Before Raphael removed to Florence he paid a visit to his native town. Here events of a warlike nature had taken place in the meantime. Duke Guidobaldo Montefeltro had been driven out by Cesare Borgia, but had once more taken possession of his hereditary dominion in the year 1503, amidst the rejoicings of the population. In the same year Giuliano della Rovere, whose brother was married to the Duke's sister Giovanna, ascended the papal chair as Julius II. Under the protection of this influential relationship peace remained secured to the Duchy of Urbino. That active intellectual life, which has invested the princely courts of Italy of the period of the Renaissance with so peculiar a lustre and charm in the memory of the after-world, unfolded itself without disturbance at the court of Guidobaldo. Raphael, too, was drawn into the select circle, the soul of which was the beautiful and talented wife of the Duke, Elisabetta Gonzaga, the granddaughter of a princess of the house of Hohenzollern. Next to the Duchess Elisabetta, the Duke's sister Giovanna della Rovere was a special patroness of the young artist, whose first achievements promised already clearly enough that he would one day prove the glory of his native town. Provided with a cordial recommendation from the Duchess Giovanna to the Gonfaloniere of Florence, Piero Soderini, Raphael, in the autumn of the year 1504, entered the flourishing capital of Tuscany. Here Leonardo da Vinci stood at that time at the height of his fame. His competitor was Michelangelo Buonarroti, three-and-twenty years his junior, whose colossal statue of David had recently been set up at the entrance of the palace of the Signoria; at present both masters were busy with the designs for great battle-pictures which were to adorn the walls of the Council-chamber. Among the painters who resided permanently at Florence the Dominican Fra Bartolommeo was one of the most distinguished. His creations were full of character and inspired by faith; their colouring was splendid and they were generally compiled with strict architectural symmetry. Raphael entered into specially close and friendly relations with this serious master, whom the fate of Savonarola had driven into the cloister. Each learned from the other; Raphael imparted to his friend, eight years older than himself, as much as he received from him. This reciprocal influence can easily be observed in several of the works of each. But Raphael at Florence learned not only from the living, but also from the old masters of earlier times. He studied with zeal in the church of Sta. Maria del Carmine the frescoes of Masaccio, who had introduced into art that fidelity to nature which formed the special glory of the Florentine school. Thus the young native of Urbino contrived, as Vasari relates, "to attain an extraordinary perfection in art and in his style of execution".



Fig. 17. THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN (Lo Sposalizio). In the Brera, Milan.



Fig. 18. SKETCH OF A PORTRAIT, with a strong reminiscence of Leonardo's *Gioconda*. Pen-drawing in the Louvre.

Raphael by no means disowned his old teacher; the character of the Umbrian school is still frequently to be discerned in his later works; but a freer surrender to nature and greater energy and fulness of life in the figures distinguish clearly the works of his Florentine period from their predecessors. Raphael could not but look up with unbounded veneration to the great master, Leonardo; his friend in the monastery also stood under the spell of the great enchanter. The influence which the contemplation of works by the unsurpassed depictor of ravishing feminine beauty exerted on so keen a learner may be most vividly observed in several portraits of women sketched by Raphael on a small scale (Fig. 18, 20). Leonardo's "*Gioconda*" hovered

before the young artist, though only as an unattained and unattainable standard of perfection, when he was painting his first portraits of ladies. Agnolo Doni, an enthusiastic but economical patron of art, who may have been scared by the prices of the famous Florentine masters of portraiture, has the merit of having first given Raphael an opportunity of trying his strength on this new ground, for he engaged him to paint himself and his wife Maddalena. These two portraits (Fig. 19, 21) are now in the collection at the Pitti Palace, Florence. To look at them may suggest the reflection that the young master was far from having attained to the art of imparting to the faithful presentment of a human being the significance of a work of art of universal validity; one may miss a convincing portrayal of character; but for all that they are a very important pair of pictures, and the unusual gifts of their author plainly appear in them; their beautiful and effective scheme of colouring, more especially, attracts the attention of the beholder, even from a distance. After his two earliest productions of this class come two creations of masterly quality, which are not certified as the work of Raphael, though the attribution hardly admits of doubt; both are portraits of unknown ladies, one (the so-called "*Donna Gravida*") in the Pitti Gallery, the other in the Tribune at the Uffizi.



Fig. 19. PORTRAIT OF MADDALENA STROZZI-DONI. Painting in the Pitti Palace, Florence.

In the year 1505 we find Raphael again employed at Perugia. In a chapel of the Camaldolese Monastery of San Severo he painted his first fresco. The space assigned to him was a pointed arch; his task was to represent the Holy Trinity and a number of saints of the order. The painting is unfortunately much damaged—the figure of God the Father has completely disappeared—and has suffered still worse maltreatment from a modern re-painting than from the effects of time and damp. The splendid design of Raphael can, nevertheless, still be recognised and admired. The painting reflects clearly the strong impressions which Raphael had received from seeing the works of the great early Florentine masters, but also, at the same time, from the creations of his friend Bartolommeo. It was not in Perugino's school that he had learnt the magnificent sweep of the lines in the solemn rank of Saints who are enthroned in a semicircle on the clouds on either side of the Redeemer, nor the artistic freedom and the fulness of life in every single figure. But the youthful master had set his own creative force at work on all those influences from without; this achievement foreshadows the future unsurpassed master of monumental painting. How vigorously Raphael's mind was occupied at that time with what he had seen in Florence is betrayed to us, to take one instance only, by a drawing which is preserved in the Oxford Gallery (Fig. 23). It contains the carefully drawn studies for two heads and two hands of saints in the San Severo fresco; but in a corner of the same sheet is sketched from memory with rapid strokes a group out of Leonardo's *Battle of the Standard*, the cartoon for which was finished in this very year (1505) and aroused universal enthusiasm by its unprecedented vigour. Raphael painted, furthermore, at Perugia a large altar-piece for the convent of St. Antonio, as well as a picture for the altar of the family-chapel of the Ansidei in the church of the Servites. In both pictures the Mother of Christ was represented as Queen of the Saints, enthroned above other saints on a lofty seat roofed over by a baldachino. In the case of the work first mentioned there was an additional semicircular arched space at the top with the figure of God the Father in



Fig. 20. SKETCH OF A PORTRAIT in the Lille Museum, drawn in silver-point on toned paper.



Fig. 21. PORTRAIT OF AGNOLO DONI. Painting in the Pitti Palace, Florence.

the act of benediction, and a predella with five subjects: Christ on the Mount of Olives, Christ bearing the cross, the lamentation over the body of Christ, and single figures of St. Antony of Padua and St. Francis of Assisi. Both works have long since left their original places; indeed no single altarpiece by Raphael has remained in a consecrated spot. They are now to be found in the National Gallery at London, with the exception of the predella, which has been broken up into its several parts and distributed among different English collections.

In both paintings it is remarkable that Raphael shows himself still strongly swayed by the rules of the Umbrian school in the composition, in the type of the infant Christ, and, in a measure, even in the drawing of the figures; one must suppose that the commissions were obtained as a result of older designs; it may have seemed to the patrons, and presumably also to Raphael himself, unfitting, especially in the case of large altar-pieces, to depart from the venerable native style of the place in favour of the freer and more natural conception of the subject which had its home in Florence. Towards the end of the year 1505 Raphael received a commission from the nuns of the convent of Monteluce near Perugia to paint the Coronation of the Queen of Heaven. Even then he already passed as the foist of painters and he was already so fully engaged, that he postponed the execution of this order for an indefinite time.

In the year 1506 Raphael painted a St. George for his Duke, Guido-



Fig. 22. MADONNA OF THE HOUSE OF ORLEANS. Chantilly.



Fig. 23. STUDIES OF HEADS AND HANDS for the fresco at San Severo, Perugia (Oxford Gallery).

baldo. He had once already taken the patron saint of chivalry as the subject of a picture. This older painting is now to be found as a companion to the still earlier St. Michael, with which it corresponds exactly in dimensions, in the Louvre. While we see in the archangel the very embodiment of victory, we behold in St. George, the human warrior, the stress of conflict. The saint has sprung towards the dragon, mounted on a powerful white horse; with the weight of the onset the spear is broken in the breast of the monster; the creature twists itself in agony and flings itself against the horse as it rushes past; but the knight has already seized the sword at his side, and whilst he seeks to check with his strong hand the snorting steed, which rears towards the spectator, he strikes out a deadly blow at the enemy. It was not possible to surpass this picture in the dramatic vivacity of its presentment, which enables the spectator to assist at the antecedents and the sequel of the action. But the St. George painted for Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino certainly shows great progress in respect of the drawing of the horse (again a result of the stay at Florence). The splendid landscape, too, tells of the new impressions which Raphael had received in the capital of art. The composition is the reverse of that adopted in the first picture. Turning away from the spectator, the Saint hurls himself against the dragon; this time he has laid the monster low in the first thrust with the spear, and the white horse springs over it with a mighty bound; the ransomed maiden is represented in the background, praying, while she appears in the first picture

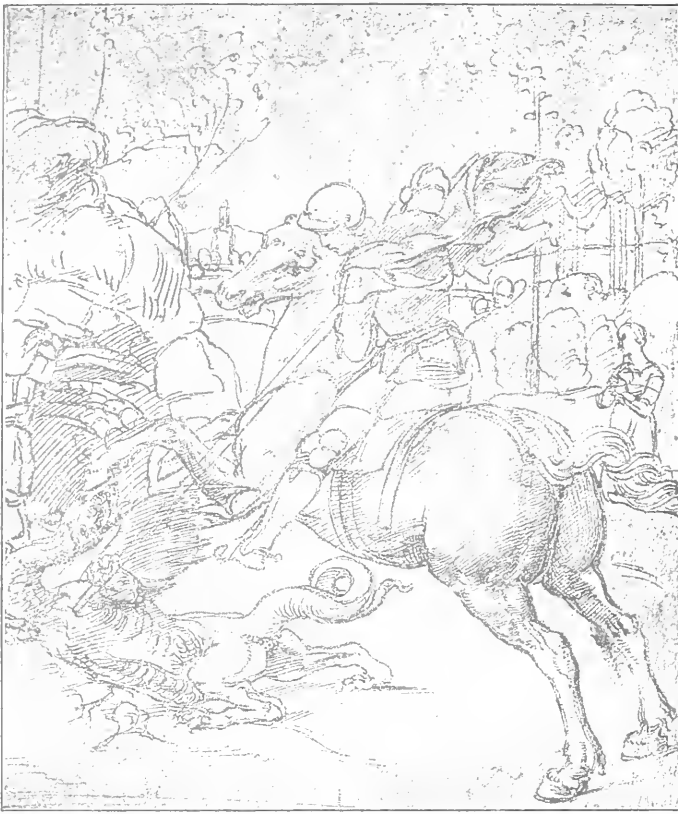


Fig. 24. DRAWING FOR THE ST. GEORGE AT ST. PETERSBURG. Uffizi, Florence.

knee, on which the word 'honi' can be read. In the summer of 1506 Count Baldassare Castiglione travelled to London as envoy of the Duke to deliver the picture. It is now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. A careful drawing on the scale in which the picture was carried out, perforated with pin-holes for the transfer to the panel, is in the collection of the Uffizi at Florence (Fig. 24).

It is possible that this picture took Raphael again to Urbino; in this case it may perhaps be supposed that Pope Julius II., who spent three days with his relative at Urbino on his progress to Bologna in September 1506, may have there first made the acquaintance of the young artist, who was soon afterwards to produce such magnificent masterpieces in his service.

The years 1506 to 1508 are principally filled by a series of Madonnas. The important point in the period of Raphael's activity at Florence is the heavenly beauty of his representations of the Virgin and Child. In the Umbrian Madonnas we are still in a measure reminded of the essential quality of mediæval art, which directed all its energy to the portrayal of the soul with all depth of feeling, and treated the body as something of minor importance. In Florence, however, the home of realism, of the faithful reproduction of nature in art, Raphael had fully recognised the beauty of

in the agitation of extreme fear. Raphael thought the little picture worthy of being signed with his name in full: Raffaello U. (Urbino) is to be read on the strap across the breast of the horse. Duke Guidobaldo had ordered the picture as a present for King Henry VII of England, in return for the Order of the Garter, which had been bestowed on him. Accordingly the saint appears clearly characterised as the patron of this order by a blue band under the



Fig. 25. MADONNA DEL GRANDUCA. Pitti Palace, Florence.



Fig. 26. MADONNA OF CASA TEMPI, Munich Gallery.
After an original photograph by Franz Hanfstaengl, Munich.



Fig. 27. PEN-SKETCH RESEMBLING THE COLONNA MADONNA, but without the animated movement (Uffizi).

reality. Like the masters of the undying creations of classical paganism, he finds in the most perfect human beauty the means of representing the Divine. At the head of the works produced in this frame of mind stands the "Madonna del Granduca" (Fig. 25) in the Pitti Palace at Florence. The designation of the picture is derived from the fact that it came from the property of the Grand Duke Ferdinand III. of Tuscany, who thought it so precious that he would not part from it even when he was on his travels. Whoever has once lost himself in contemplation before this marvellous picture, must be able to comprehend such a devotion to it. The forms of the Virgin standing quietly, seen in half length, and of the Divine Child in her arms, stand out like a gleaming vision, and yet in all bodily fulness, from a uniform dark background. The Madonna appears as the virgin saint no less

completely than in the older pictures; her eyelids droop, as custom had long required them to do in representations of Mary; but from under the lashes the eyes look down on the beholder with an expression of infinite kindness. A soul full of more than terrestrial purity and gentleness is revealed to us; but this soul shines from a countenance which we might believe to be human, with warm blood flowing in the veins, a countenance full of charm and loveliness. A seemingly unimportant and accidental departure from tradition further contributes to clothe this celestial countenance with the charm of life; the heavy veil which covers the head is set back, so that the bright golden hair pours out along the temples and cheeks, only half concealed over the brow by a fine, transparent veil. The child Jesus clings to his mother, but turns his little head as he does so, and fixes the full gaze of his large, peaceful child's eyes on the spectator. Next after the "Madonna del Granduca" comes the picture in a similar vein of feeling, which is named, after its English owner, the Madonna of Lord Cowper. Whereas in the former picture Raphael had abandoned all accessories, in order to give himself up entirely to working out his idea of the two figures, landscape, in this, has once more regained its position. Here, again, both figures turn their faces and eyes towards the

spectator. But in a larger picture of the Madonna in the collection of the same amateur (generally known as the Madonna Niccolini, after its former owner), dating from the last year of Raphael's stay at Florence,



Fig. 23. COLONNA MADONNA. Berlin Museum.

only the child looks out of the picture, while Mary lets her gaze rest on him with quiet motherly pleasure, and on his face a glad, childish smile has replaced the expression of great seriousness. It appears, as it were, a natural result of the fidelity to nature with which Raphael has modelled



Fig. 29. SKETCHES FOR A MADONNA.
Pen-and-ink drawing in the British Museum.

the forms of the sacred personages, that these truly human beings reveal human emotions. The picture of Mary turning graciously towards the outward world becomes a picture of the love of two sacred beings for one another. Mary no longer appears merely as the Virgin carrying in her arms the Son of God, but at the same time as his tender, loving mother. The commencement of these representations was in the enchanting "Madonna of the Casa Tempi" (Fig. 26) in the Pinakothek at Munich, which was produced soon after the "Madonna

del Granduca". The mother clasping the child so lovingly to her heart, laying her cheek against his, absorbed in gazing at him with a smile of bliss, makes a picture of the purest humanity, taken straight from life, which might be a reminiscence of his own childhood; but the pure and lofty feeling of the artist has infused a spirit of more than earthly holiness into the consummate beauty of his portrayal of the holiest of human feelings. "The Madonna of the House of Orleans" (in the collection of the late Duc d'Aumale; Fig. 22) shows us the happy mother playing prettily with her child, just awakened and eager for nourishment, in the retirement of a dwellingroom. We see the group once more in a rich landscape in the "Madonna of the Casa Colonna" (Fig. 28), in the Berlin Museum. Produced shortly before Raphael left Florence, this picture was never quite finished as regards the execution of the painting; that does not prevent us, however, from fully enjoying the charm of its design. As in the older pictures, we see here

again the book of prayers in Mary's hand; but the splendid boy who sits up, full of life, on her lap, has disturbed her in her pious meditations, and while she evades his impetuous demand with a movement of her body, the outlines of which are hidden by the heavy mantle, to one side, she fixes her gaze full of maternal happiness on the child.

Besides the pictures, the number of which, quite apart from those of doubtful genuineness, is still further increased by such as are only known from old imitations, numerous drawings offer us the opportunity of admiring Raphael's inexhaustible resources for inventing new forms, for always portraying the blessed union of mother and child with the same freshness and love and always with the same magical beauty. Many of the pages contain several experimental ideas, hastily jotted down, of which every one is a masterpiece; for instance, a sheet of paper in the British Museum (Fig. 29), which contains two different conceptions of the child with his hunger appeased, in contrast to the pictures with the child eager for nourishment, which have just been described; in one he turns round satisfied, thrusting his tiny hand against his mother's breast; in the other he turns still further away from her, and tries to escape from her lap to the ground; or a sheet in the Albertina (Fig. 30), with two quite different compositions, one of which once more employs in a new way the motive of interrupted meditation, the mother herself holding the book aside and turning affection-



Fig. 30. SKETCHES FOR A MADONNA. In the Albertina, Vienna.



Fig. 31. TERRANOVA MADONNA. Berlin Museum.
(After an original photograph by Franz Hanfstängl, Munich.)

ately to the child as he caresses her, while the other introduces a third person, the little St. John, into the scene. Even in the Middle Ages the pictures of the Madonna and Child had frequently been enriched by the addition of the son of Elizabeth to the group; a special significance was given to the forerunner by his holding a cross of reeds and a scroll with the words "Ecce Agnus Dei", in reference to the future passion of the Son of God. That, too, is the way in which the little St. John is represented in the earliest picture of the kind by Raphael, the "Madonna of the Duke of Terranuova" in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 31); the infant Jesus gazes earnestly, bending to one side on his mother's lap, at the momentous words on the roll of writing which is presented to him; opposite to St. John, who wears a little coat of skins, stands a third boy looking on, perhaps the future beloved disciple St. John the Evangelist. This second picture with its delightful colouring belongs to the early part of Raphael's time at Florence; in the

design it still bears the stamp of the school of Perugino, but in the heads, especially in that of the Virgin, the Florentine beauty, with all its warmth of life, comes out.

Raphael carried out the group of the Virgin with the infant Jesus and St. John with far greater freedom in three pictures which are closely



Fig. 32. MADONNA IN THE MEADOW. In the Imperial Gallery, Vienna.

related one to another. In all three, Mary sits with the two children in a meadow, the strong green of which loses itself in a distant prospect of varied forms; they have further in common the artificial structure, an effect of the teaching of Fra Bartolommeo, by which the group, however unconstrained its composition may seem, forms a decided triangle. The first

of these three pictures is the "Madonna in the Meadow" (Fig. 32) in the Imperial Museum of Art at Vienna (painted in 1505 or 1506), the second the "Madonna del Cardellino" (with the goldfinch, Fig. 33) in the Tribune of the Uffizi, the third (of the year 1507 or 1508) "La belle Jardinière" (Fig. 34) in the Louvre. At the beginning the arrangement of the three whole-length figures in that regular structure seems to have presented unwonted difficulties to the young master; at least there are an unusually large number of trial sketches and studies for the "Madonna in the Meadow" (Fig. 35, 36). Then, too, the painting appears to a certain extent embarrassed, in spite of its great charms, in comparison with the two others. In its colouring and in the form of the Virgin it bears witness to the zeal with which Raphael studied the works of Leonardo da Vinci. The picture at Florence is, similarly, the final result of experiments of various kinds. What makes this picture especially attractive is the delightfully natural and childlike treatment of the two boys. In the Vienna picture the little St. John on his knees offers the cross of reeds to the Child Jesus—the written scroll is omitted in all three cases—; but there is no Such reference here to the future passion; St. John has run up with a captive goldfinch, by offering which he hopes to gratify his playfellow. This charming piece of child's play did not originally form part of the artist's purpose; a pen-and-ink sketch in the Oxford Gallery (Fig. 37) shows us the Child Jesus still seriously occupied with his mother's book of devotions, while St. John stands by inactive, merely as an attentive listener. Unfortunately the masterpiece has suffered severely. Raphael painted it as a wedding gift for his friend, Lorenzo Nasi, at Florence; in an earthquake in the year 1584 the house of the Nasi family fell down, the panel came to pieces and had to be laboriously put together again and repaired. In the picture at Paris, the peculiarity of which is the loving care with which the flowers and plants of the foreground are carried out, the master succeeded in making the religious relations between the children quite clear and yet in preserving their childish character in its full delightfulness; St. John, with the little cross of reeds in his hand, has fallen on his knee, but we feel that he is not yet fully conscious in his childish thoughts of that which urges him at the sight of his comrade to assume the attitude of prayer; and the little Jesus, one of the most ravishing forms of children which Raphael has produced, looks with great, questioning eyes at his mother's wonderful countenance, full of womanly charm and divine majesty, as if he were expecting to be told why his playfellow was kneeling before him. The Oxford Gallery possesses a splendid study from nature for this child (Fig. 38), with several special studies for that one foot which rests on the foot of his mother.

The group is once more differently composed in an unfinished painting, the "Esterhazy Madonna", in the picture gallery at Pesth. Mary has knelt down and set the child before her on a mossy stone; the child St. John kneels at her side, busy with his roll of writing, which he seems to wish



Fig. 33. MADONNA WITH THE GOLDFINCH. In the Uffizi, Florence.
 (After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

to read, and draws the attention of mother and child to himself. The sketch for this painting, full of life, belongs to the collection of the Uffizi (Fig. 39).

In the same collection is a very slight, but none the less charming, pen-and-ink sketch (Fig. 40), in which the little St. John brings up to

Jesus as he sits in his mother's lap a real lamb, which he can hardly carry, instead of the scroll with the words "Ecce Agnus Dei".

To the same group of subjects belongs, further, a picture which exists in several versions, painted partly by pupils of Raphael, partly by later imitators, but the design of which goes back to the master himself. This is generally known as the "Madonna with the veil", or the "Sleeping Child". The Child Christ has fallen asleep in a meadow; the Virgin has sat down by his side and lifts the veil from his little face, on which she gazes, rapt in contemplation, while the little St. John, nestling against Mary's lap, looks at the spectator and points with outstretched hands to the Son of God.

Raphael's inexhaustible fancy has displayed itself again most abundantly in this subject, which he was able to clothe in new and ever delightful forms every time he took it up.

Another group of subjects is formed by the Holy Families, in which the Virgin and Child are accompanied by the foster-father Joseph and, occasionally, by other persons as well. There is, first, the little picture, the Madonna with the lamb (Fig. 41), in the gallery at Madrid, in which we see the Virgin holding the child astride on a lamb which lies beside her, in a beautiful landscape, while St. Joseph, leaning on a staff, watches the group affectionately—a very attractive picture, remarkable also on account of the effectiveness of its colouring, which combines the three primary colours, boldly but not inharmoniously, in the dark-blue mantle and carmine robe of Mary and the warm yellow mantle of Joseph. Then the Madonna under the palm-tree in Lord Ellesmere's collection, London, is a lovely family group. Mary sits under a date-palm, and holds the child securely by a scarf round his body; his foster-father is kneeling and offers a bunch of flowers to the child, who turns round towards him with an animated movement. We find a splendid study for this picture in the Louvre (Fig. 42). Quite different in kind and almost odd in its conception is a picture in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, in which St. Joseph, represented, contrary to the tradition of artists, without a beard, looks so full of care that this expression in itself gives a somewhat gloomy tone to the whole—with which the dark background corresponds (Fig. 43).

The Canigiani Holy Family in the Pinakothek at Munich shows a richer composition. Mary sits on the ground in a meadow; opposite to her kneels the aged Elizabeth; each of the two mothers holds her child securely; the little Jesus has cheerfully accepted the scroll which John, with a serious look on his face, has offered to him; St. Joseph stands in the middle behind the two women, leaning with both hands on his staff, and looks down ponderingly; a hilly landscape with a town of many towers forms the background. We learn through Vasari that Raphael painted this picture for Domenico Canigiani at Florence; from the possession of his descendants it afterwards passed into that of the Medici. When the Elector Palatine John William married a daughter of that house, the picture came as part of the princess's dowry to Düsseldorf, and was transferred thence



Fig. 34. MADONNA, CALLED "LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE", in the Louvre.
 (After an original-photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)



Fig. 35. SKETCHES FOR THE MADONNA IN THE MEADOW, Vienna.
Pen-and-ink drawing in the Albertina, Vienna.

in the year 1805, with the rest of the treasures of the Düsseldorf Gallery, to Munich. The beautiful picture is unfortunately in a very bad state of preservation; groups of child-angels which hovered in the air on either side of St. Joseph, have completely disappeared through cleaning and repainting, so that now the too strictly pyramidal structure of the group strikes the eye more than was originally the case. If we wish to gain an idea of the original effect of the composition we must look at one of the old copies for the sake of comparison. There are several of these: for instance, a copy in oils in the Palazzo Corsini at Florence, and a wash-drawing—not a particularly good one, it is true—in the Oxford Gallery (Fig. 44).

Next to the pictures of the Madonna, with their idyllic charm, is to be placed the picture of St. Catharine in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 45), which is no less rich in loveliness. Represented in somewhat more than half-length, the Virgin Saint stands in an open landscape through which a river flows; her left arm rests on the wheel, the instrument of her martyrdom; she lays her right hand—a hand of incomparable beauty—on her breast, as if to assert the steadfastness of her faith and her courage in meeting her doom, and looks with head turned aside towards the

ray of heavenly light which gleams upon her from the clouds.

In the last year of his residence at Florence Raphael had once more occasion to produce a large altar-piece in honour of the Virgin, whom he had so often glorified in those lovely pictures which formed the fairest ornaments of the rooms of pious lovers of art. The Florentine family of Dei gave him an order for the adornment of their altar in the church of San Spirito. But previously to that, in



Fig. 36. STUDY FOR THE MADONNA IN THE MEADOW, VIENNA.
Sepia drawing in the Oxford Gallery.

the year 1507, Raphael completed another large altar-piece which he had pledged himself to carry out at the date of his presence at Perugia. A lady of the ruling family of Perugia, Atalanta Baglioni, had commissioned him to paint the Lamentation for Christ, for the church of San Francesco at that place. Atalanta had her special reason for choosing this subject: in the bloody family feuds which raged at that time in almost every Italian town, her son Grifone had fallen a victim to the vendetta; in her arms he had forgiven his murderers. There fell to the young master a task which required him to concentrate himself on very different feelings from those to which he gave expression in his gracious Madonnas. It seems, too, that Raphael had to surmount great difficulties in mastering a subject less congenial to his nature, before arriving at a final result. If we may regard a slight pen-drawing preserved in the Oxford Gallery (Fig. 46) as Raphael's first project for the picture for Atalanta Baglioni, we learn that the design underwent a complete transformation before it was carried out. On this sketch we see how loving hands prepared the first resting-place for the body before steps were taken for the burial. The head of Christ rests on the lap of his mother, who sinks into the arms of her attendants, overcome by her



Fig. 37. SKETCH FOR THE MADONNA WITH THE GOLDFINCH, FLORENCE. Pen-and-ink drawing at Oxford.

excessive grief; the legs of the Saviour lie on the lap of the Magdalen, who wrings her hands and turns her eyes away from the Departed to the sorrowful Mother; the disciple John, Joseph of Arimathea and other persons stand on one side with various expressions of grief and sympathy. A larger drawing in the Louvre (Fig. 47), which goes into greater detail, though it does not include all the figures but only the most important ones, shows the same composition with some deviations: the Magdalen grasps the hand and knee of her beloved Lord; behind her appears a young woman, who is carefully lifting the veil from the head of the fainting Mary; Joseph of Arimathea, who, in the small sketch, stands close to St. John, has now

gone behind the women, who are occupied with Mary, and expresses his grief and his inability to console by spreading out his arms. The composition in this form reminds us, both in the general arrangement and in several details, of a representation of the same subject which Perugino had painted for the church of Santa Chiara at Florence, one of the master's most excellent works (now in the Pitti Palace). Meanwhile Raphael soon determined on quite a new composition, in which the alteration extended even to the choice of the moment. He transformed a picture of repose into one of movement. Two bearers have lifted the body of the Redeemer; they have reached the entrance of the tomb, to which steps lead up, which the foremost bearer, stepping backwards and straining under the burden of the dead body, is just mounting; the friends, before all St. Mary Magdalene, who has grasped the hand of Christ once more, take a last look at the dear countenance, before it is withdrawn from them for ever; but the mother's feet have refused to carry her on the grievous road; her senses fail, and she falls as heavily as a corpse into the arms of the women who attend her; a view of the hill where the cross stands closes the horizon. In the year 1507 Raphael finished the painting (Fig. 48) on the spot, from a cartoon drawn at Florence. That Raphael in carrying out the cartoon already worked with assistants we are taught by a drawing in the collection of the Uffizi (Fig. 49), which contains the principal group drawn quite in the manner of a pupil and ruled over in squares. This drawing merely served the purpose of trans-

ference to the size required for the execution of the picture; but Raphael seems to have gone over the outlines of the head and shoulder of the Magdalen in it with his own master-hand; the figure inserted in the gap between the Magdalen and the bearer appears to be an experiment which was again abandoned. He adorned the predella of the altar-piece with representations painted in grisaille of the three Christian virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity, as feminine half-figures: Faith contemplates the Chalice with the Host with the expression of steadfast conviction, laying her hand on her breast in asseveration; Hope, with folded hands, looks upwards with an incomparable expression of confidence which nothing can shake; Charity has a group of children assembled near her heart; at the side of each of the circles in which these noble womanly forms are framed appear two delightful child-angels, standing. The Albertina at Vienna possesses a masterly pen-drawing (Fig. 50) which agrees in essentials with the middle picture of this predella, Charity, but is puzzling, inasmuch as it reminds us much more of Michelangelo's style of drawing than of Raphael's. Till 1608 the Entombment, in which, before all else, the splendidly expressive heads call forth our highest admiration, adorned the place for which it was intended; then, in spite of the loud objections which were raised by the monks of San Francesco, it was presented to Cardinal Borghese (Pope Paul V.); since then it has remained in the Borghese palace at

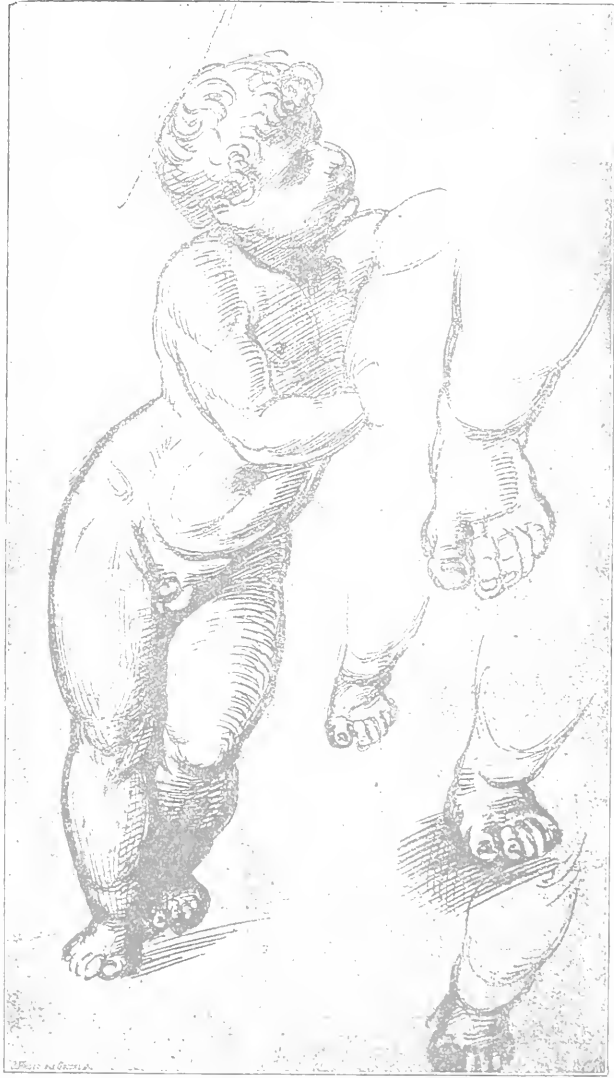


Fig. 50. Study from nature for the figure of Charity in the picture at Paris known as "La Petite Jardinière".
Pen-and-ink drawing at Oxford.



Fig. 30. SKETCH FOR THE ESTERHAZY MADONNA AT PESTH.
Collection of drawings in the Uffizi, Florence.

Rome. The predella was left in San Francesco at Perugia till towards the end of the last century, when it was carried off to Paris by the French conqueror, like so many other church-treasures in Italy; then in 1815 it was conveyed to the Vatican picture-gallery, which was formed by Pius VII. from the paintings restored after the fall of Napoleon.

There is a letter of Raphael of considerable length, dated April 21, 1508, directed to his uncle Simone Ciarla at Urbino; the original document is said to be in the missionary college of the Propaganda at Rome.

We learn from it

that Raphael had shed tears when he received the news of the death of the Duke Guidobaldo; that he had several commissions in view, that he chose to let the persons who had ordered his pictures value them on their receipt rather than fix the price himself, and that he was anxious to obtain a recommendation from the prefect to Pietro Soderini for the purpose of executing a wall-painting, which the latter had to assign.

Whether the letter of recommendation was given by the prefect we do not know. In any case Raphael had no longer any need to trouble himself to obtain commissions for work of a monumental kind; for in the same year the greatest and most brilliant sphere of work was opened to

him, which has ever been offered to a painter. He was obliged to leave even the altar-piece of the Dei family unfinished, at which he had begun to work after completing the Entombment. This was the "Madonna with the Baldachino", so called on account of the great canopy under which the Virgin sits, a solemn representation of the Queen of Saints, which no longer reminds us of the school of Perugia, but rather of the manner of Fra Bartolommeo (Fig. 51). After Raphael's death, the picture, finished by the hands of a pupil, came into the possession of his executor, the papal Datary, Baldassare Turini of Pescia, who had it hung in the cathedral of his native town; in the year 1697 it was sold, which the citizens of Pescia resented as a disgraceful piece of sacrilege; it became the property of the Medici, and was hung in the Pitti Palace.

On the great turning-point in Raphael's life, his summons to Rome to enter the service of the Pope, Vasari gives the following information: "Bramante of Urbino, who was in the service of Julius II., wrote to Raphael, since he was distantly related to him and came from the same place, that he had obtained the consent of the Pope, who had had some new apartments constructed, to let Raphael display his powers in them. The proposal pleased Raphael, so that he abandoned his work at Florence and moved to Rome." Bramante (born at Monte Asdrualdo near Urbino about 1444) had been occupied for several years with the Pope's gigantic enterprise, the rebuilding of St. Peter's. Michelangelo had been painting the ceiling of the Sistine chapel since the spring of 1508. Now Raphael arrived, to make the third star of the constellation, the splendour of which would suffice by itself to make the name of Julius II. immortal, even if the politician and warrior-pope had done nothing to secure for himself imperishable renown beyond setting for these three men their sublime and magnificent tasks. Raphael has handed down to us the features of the pope (Fig. 52) who made Rome the capital of the world of art, so that the former glory of Florence paled beside that of Rome. The portrait dates from the last years of the life of Julius II.; the burden of old age has bowed the mighty shoulders, the full beard falls white over the breast, the eyelids have grown heavy; but the fire is not yet quenched in the eyes, which rest in deep hollows under the powerful forehead, and the expression of an iron will and energy bent on its purpose lies in the contracted brows and



Fig. 40. SKETCH OF A MADONNA WITH THE TWO CHILDREN.
Drawing in the Uffizi, Florence.

closely shut mouth. The whole personality of the aged man, who sits with his elbows propped on the arms of his chair, is so convincing, so full of life, that we can well understand the words of Vasari, that the picture was so true to nature that it made the beholders tremble, as if Pope Julius were present in the body. The magnificent portrait was copied repeatedly soon after it came into existence, and that, in some cases, by such skilful hands that it is no longer certain which is the original; the two examples in Florence especially (one in the Tribune, the other in the Pitti palace) contend for precedence.

In the autumn of 1508 Raphael was in the service of the Pope; he was overwhelmed with work and employed a number of assistants. We learn as much from a letter (no longer extant in the original document) which he addressed on the 5th September in that year to the Bolognese painter and goldsmith Francesco Francia, the teacher of Raphael's friend Timoteo Viti. Raphael thanks the master, who is his dear and honoured friend, as is evidenced by the whole tone of the letter, for sending him a portrait of himself, and makes excuses for not having yet been able to send him his own in return. "I might indeed have sent it you, painted by one of my young men and touched up by myself, but that would not be becoming; or, to speak more precisely, it would be becoming, as an acknowledgement that I cannot come up to your level. Bear with me, I pray you, since you will have already experienced what it means to be robbed of one's liberty, and to live in the service of a master."

The pope's newly constructed chambers, of which Bramante wrote to Raphael, are the apartments of the Vatican palace known as the "Stanze". Raphael, who was received with great kindness by the pope, began his work at the age of twenty-five in the "Stanza della Segnatura", which received this name because the popes were accustomed to sign dispensations in it. The most famous painters had already exerted themselves in rivalry to adorn the apartments of the Vatican and a number of masters of established reputation, among them Perugino, were still employed in doing so. In the Stanza della Segnatura the ceiling had already been painted by Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (called Sodoma) of Vercelli. But when Raphael had completed a part of his work, the Pope had the other paintings stripped off, in order to transfer the whole to the youth who threw old masters and new alike into the shade. Raphael, however, had the distribution of space in the vaulted ceiling preserved as Sodoma had planned it, with its ornaments, small decorative subjects, and the armorial bearings of the pope, upheld by angels, in the centre. The pictures which Raphael inserted into this frame give, as it were, a *résumé* of the contents of the whole decoration of the room. There was a mighty range of thought to be reduced to shape; the most ideal domains of the human intellect were to be glorified in painting, under the guardianship of divines, sages, poets and lawgivers. So we find on the ceiling in the first place the emblematical figures of Theology, Philosophy, Poetry and Justice, which occupy circular

spaces in the most important positions on the ceiling, between the central space with the arms and the top of the semicircular boundaries of the wall-paintings. These are splendid female figures, enthroned on clouds, accompanied by genii who carry tablets with explanatory inscriptions;



Fig. 41. THE HOLY FAMILY WITH THE LAMB. In the Prado Gallery, Madrid.
(After an original photograph by J. Laurent & Co., Madrid.)

they stand out in full, strong colours from a shining background of gold mosaic (Fig. 53, 54, 55, 56). Next to Theology, who holds the spectator's gaze spellbound by an indescribable combination of deep earnestness and infinite gentleness, Poetry, transfigured by heavenly enthusiasm, is the most



Fig. 42. STUDY FOR THE MADONNA UNDER THE PALM-TREE.
Drawing in the Louvre Collection.

magnificent of these supernatural forms: "the breath of the Godhead is upon her"—we should recognise it, even if the words were not held up for us to read by the two splendid cherubs, who disport themselves in the clouds on either side of her (Fig. 55).

Next to the four large allegorical figures come four smaller pictures of a square shape, also on a ground of gold mosaic, in the pendentives of the vaulting. Next to Theology is represented the Fall of Man (Fig. 57). Since the very earliest times the Fall and the Redemption had been placed in juxtaposition as a pair of subjects in Christian art; the picture of human guilt serves significantly as a foil to the picture of divine grace. So here, too, this subject had

to be represented in symbolical relation to the wall-painting, which celebrates the gracious God of Christianity. Raphael's picture of the event is a perfect masterpiece. The serpent—with the head of a woman, as was customary in early art—approaches Eve and whispers in the shade of the leaves of the tree, looking meanwhile observantly at the face of Adam, who sits on the other side of the tree; Eve still holds in one hand the bough from which she has broken off the forbidden fruit, which she now offers to her husband with a look of irresistible seductiveness; Adam's attitude and head express hesitation, but his hand opens in desire.

Next to Poetry the triumph of skill over clumsiness is symbolised by the rivalry of Apollo and Marsyas. Next to Justice the Judgment of Solomon gives an example of wise administration of justice. Next to Philosophy, however, instead of a representation which tells a story, we

see once more an allegorical figure, namely Astronomy, who, accompanied by two small genii, bends in amazed contemplation over the celestial sphere.

Among the four great wall-paintings that which usually enthral a



Fig. 43. HOLY FAMILY WITH THE BEARDESS ST. JOSEPH. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach, Alsace, and Paris.)

modern beholder the most is the one which is devoted to Theology (Fig. 58). It is universally known by the name of "Disputa" (discussion), for a discussion of theologians on the Sacrament of the Altar has been

regarded as the true subject of the representation. But, as a matter of fact, the monstrance with the Host exhibited on an altar is merely the connecting link between the upper and lower halves of the picture. Above, the Triune God appears in the majesty of Heaven; below, the church on earth is assembled round the Body of the Lord in the species of bread. In a golden sea of light, composed of rays laid on in relief and of glittering points, God the Father is seen at the top, with endless rows of angels



Fig. 44. OLD COPY OF THE MADONNA CANIGIANI AT MUNICH. Oxford Gallery.

hovering round him; he holds the orb in his left hand and raises the right in benediction; his head is of a majesty which no conception has ever surpassed (Fig. 59). Beneath him, in a halo of rays encompassed by heads of cherubim, Christ is seated on the clouds, with a countenance of heavenly beauty full of immeasurable love, and lifts up both hands, to show the prints of the wounds (Fig. 60); next to the Redeemer sit, as on the Day of Judgment, Mary and John the Baptist, the former praying for mercy for the human race, the latter with gloomy looks invoking justice; on a

lower stratum of clouds, which is supported by heads of cherubim, the elect are ranged in a semicircle, saints of the old and the new covenant in splendid forms, strongly characterised. Beneath the Redeemer hovers



Fig. 45. ST. CATHERINE, in the National Gallery, London.

(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach, Alsace, and Paris.)

the dove of the Holy Ghost, flying down towards the earth, accompanied by angels, who carry the books of the Four Gospels with their pages open. All this had been painted a hundred times before, and Raphael kept



Fig. 46. SKETCH FOR A LAMENTATION FOR CHRIST. Pen-drawing, Oxford Gallery.

closely in all things to the usage of the church; but no one had ever clothed the subject in such forms or painted it as he did.

In the grouping of the theologians on earth the artist possessed the fullest liberty, and it would be superfluous to say another word about the beauty with which he designed it. The four Doctors of the church, who sit on chairs near the altar, Ambrose and Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great, form, in a manner, the fixed points to which the companies of elders, men and youths attach themselves, including the holders of the highest dignities in the church together with simple priests, regular clergy and faithful laymen. One figure is more splendid than the next, every head is in itself a sublime masterpiece. All conceivable gradations of faith strong, as the rocks, and sacred enthusiasm, joyful surrender to belief and absorption in the search for truth find their expression. The vivacity of the conversation—question, answer and instruction—Sends a thrill through the groups, while single figures stand amongst them in imperturbable calm.

By a curious coincidence, it was almost at the same time—some two years later—that Dürer painted his picture of the Trinity, which in its contents was almost of like significance with the Disputa. With this recollection the thought inevitably suggests itself, how different the circumstances were in which art reached its highest development in Germany and in Italy. The Italian painter was presented by the lord of Christendom with immense surfaces of wall in the grandest palace of the world, that he might record his greatest thoughts in great outlines upon them; the

German was commissioned by a few respectable citizens to paint an altar-piece for an old men's almshouse, and he had to confine the abundant force of his imagination by plodding industry within the scanty limits of a panel about three square yards in area.

It goes without saying that Raphael prepared himself with special diligence for his first great fresco (the wall-painting in San Severo at Perugia was considerably smaller). For none of his works are so large a number of preliminary studies and experiments of various kinds preserved, as for this.

Several of these sketches have a peculiarly human and personal interest. While Raphael was turning over in his head the mighty forms of the Disputa and endeavouring to restrict them within definite outlines, his thoughts wandered at times to the sweetest of realities, and the pen, which ought to have been determining the shapes of the saints and doctors of the church, wrote tender and glowing love-poems on the page (Fig. 61). There is no ground for the assumption that Raphael made any experiments in the art of poetry at any other time; it does not appear from the few sonnets which were produced after a deal of erasure, correction and seeking for rhymes that he had any special vocation as a poet. But the stammering words in which "the tongue loosens the bonds of speech, to



Fig. 47. LARGER DRAWING FOR THE SAME COMPOSITION. LOUVRE.



Fig. 48. THE ENTOMBMENT. In the Borghese Gallery, Rome.

tell of the unwonted, blissful toils", in which he is caught, the words which tell with glowing passion of happiness enjoyed, of the pang of separation and of yearning desire, are, even without a high poetical value, a precious record of Raphael's life. For what fair Roman the love-poems were intended, there is not the slightest indication, for no name is mentioned; only it may be discovered by a few passages, which, however, are struck out again, that she was of high position.

The wall opposite the "Disputa" is occupied by the "School of Athens" (Fig. 62); the glorification of knowledge forms a counterpart to the glorification of religion. As in the first painting the Christian theologians of all centuries are grouped round the fathers of the church, so here the philosophers of ancient Greece are assembled round Aristotle and Plato, the two heroes of the intellect to whom the early Renaissance paid the same tribute of unquestioning veneration as to the fathers of the church themselves. The scene is a structure of idealised Renaissance architecture,



Fig. 49. DRAWING OF THE PRINCIPAL GROUP IN THE ENTOMBMENT. Uffizi.

a lofty cupola filled with light, flanked by four wings, and adorned with statues of the gods in niches, among which Apollo and Minerva are to be recognised in the foreground. From the background of the hall we see the two great philosophers advancing slowly, between the companies of reverential listeners who have closed up in ranks on either side. The ladder of knowledge, which leads to wisdom, consisting of the seven liberal arts, as they are called (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, physics, dialectics and metaphysics), forms the basis for the characterisation of the various incomparable groups, which we behold further to the side and in front, in the vestibule. In the figures and heads of the sages and seekers after knowledge Raphael has depicted character with matchless power, as he did in those of the divines; learning and comprehension, teaching and listening, research and knowledge, are portrayed in the most masterly style. Our special attention is engaged by the group in the foreground to the right. Here the teacher of geometry, Archimedes, bears the features



Fig. 50. CHARITY. Pen-and-ink drawing in the Albertina, agreeing in essentials with the middle picture of the predella to the Entombment.

of the aged Bramante; separated from him by the group of astronomers, Zoroaster and Ptolemy, two heads are visible at the extreme edge of the picture, of which the more youthful one gazes at the spectator with kindly, brown eyes; this is Raphael (Fig. 63). This head, like the whole picture, has unfortunately suffered very much; for all that, we gain from it a more definite idea of the master's features, in which his great, loving soul reveals itself, than from his portrait of himself in oils (Frontispiece), in the Uffizi at Florence, which has been stripped almost of the last remnants of originality by over-diligent cleaning and restoration.

The Disputa and the School of Athens occupy walls without any break. In the case of the two other wall-paintings there was this special

difficulty to be overcome, that the area of the picture was interrupted by a large window. On one side, where the glorification of Jurisprudence was to be the subject, Raphael took refuge in a partition of the space into three single pictures. In the arched space over the window he painted the three virtues which are inseparable from Justice: Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance, noble female figures, by the side of which little genii, once more, are seen at play. On either side of the window he represented the function of the lawgiver in the civil and in the ecclesiastical sphere; on one side the Emperor Justinian delivers the Pandects, on the other side Pope Gregory IX. the Decretals. The Pope's features are those of Julius II., and the remaining figures of this painting are portraits of persons connected with his court. On the opposite wall, where the glorification of Poetry was to be represented, Raphael would not be prevented by the window from producing a picture single and complete in itself; on the contrary, he made the happiest use of the peculiar shape which resulted. He painted Parnassus (Fig. 64), placing the summit of the Muses' hill over the window and letting the slopes descend on either side of it. On the top of the mount Apollo is seated under a slender bay-tree (Fig. 65), a splendid youth, listening in rapture to the strains evoked by the magic of his art. His instrument is not the lyre, which was recognised universally, it is true, as the antique symbol of music, but was not calculated to awake in the painter's contemporaries a lively notion of the power of sound; the divine musician might play no other instrument but the violin. The "Parnassus"

was not to be an archaeological picture, but had to give immediate expression to the feelings and thoughts of the time; how cold would be the effect of the lyre, the sound of which was quite unknown, in place of the



Fig. 51. MADONNA DEL BALDACCHINO. In the Pitti Palace, Florence.

violin, at the sight of which everyone thinks of the music of the actual world, especially when such a countenance as that of the God who plays it, helps to call forth the idea. Round Apollo is the company of the Muses. With them the great princes of poetry have found a place on

the summit of Parnassus: Homer, who raises his sightless eyes in divine enthusiasm, and dictates his poems to a youth; Virgil, and following him, Dante, whom Raphael has also introduced among the theologians; next to Virgil a portrait-head is visible, which cannot be identified. Among the corresponding group on the other side, which does not stand quite so high, we recognise, next to the Muses, Raphael's friend Ariosto with his swarthy beard; here the company of poets prolongs itself without a break into the foreground; the foremost figures are commonly distinguished as Pindar and Horace. Opposite to the seated Pindar we perceive Sappho, who leans her beautiful arm on the painted frame of the window; between the poets, who form a group in conversation with her, the head of Petrarch can be discerned under the stem of the bay-tree.

Under the picture of Parnassus the date 1511 marks the time at which the whole work was completed. In three years Raphael had coped with the immense task. Putting forth strength proportionate to the labour it entailed, he had made himself the greatest master of fresco-painting that has ever lived. How he accustomed himself to see things in a large and simple manner is revealed even by his studies from nature; the splendid sheet in the British Museum with the study of drapery for the so-called Horace and the studies for the hands of the same figure (the right hand in two different positions) may serve as an example (Fig. 66). Raphael's divinely gifted genius made him understand how to add to the abundance of intelligent thought and the development of expression and beautiful form that which is beyond aught else the secret of painting which no teaching can impart, namely, picturesque pose and decorative effect; before the beholder can begin to seek out the beauty of details, or to penetrate into the content of the theme represented, beauty encounters him and instantly captivates his gaze and his feelings by the harmony of lines, masses and colours. When within this first and most distinguished quality of the painter's art, and without prejudice to that quality, all the other merits are developed which pictorial art can bring forth, the highest imaginable goal of painting is attained. On entering the Stanza della Segnatura, the Holy of Holies of the art of painting, we experience that complete, overpowering impression of beauty, which excites our emotion even without the work of the understanding in interpretation, even at the present day, although inexorable time has not passed without leaving its traces, and has stamped its cruel marks plainly enough, especially as regards the colours. The general view of the room must have been still more splendid when the connection between the wall-paintings and the fine pavement of inlaid marble, now effected by a dado of paintings of subordinate interest, was produced by intarsia panelling, which Julius II. had prepared by the first of masters in this branch of art, Fra Giovanni of Verona, in order that it might be worthy of the paintings.

The sight of Raphael's performance had induced the Pope to destroy the finished works of other painters in the adjoining chamber as well.

Immediately after the completion of the Stanza della Segnatura Raphael set to work to paint the apartment which is known by the name of the Stanza dell' Eliodoro. This work, was however, not brought to an end till after the death of Julius II. (20th February, 1513). We may therefore

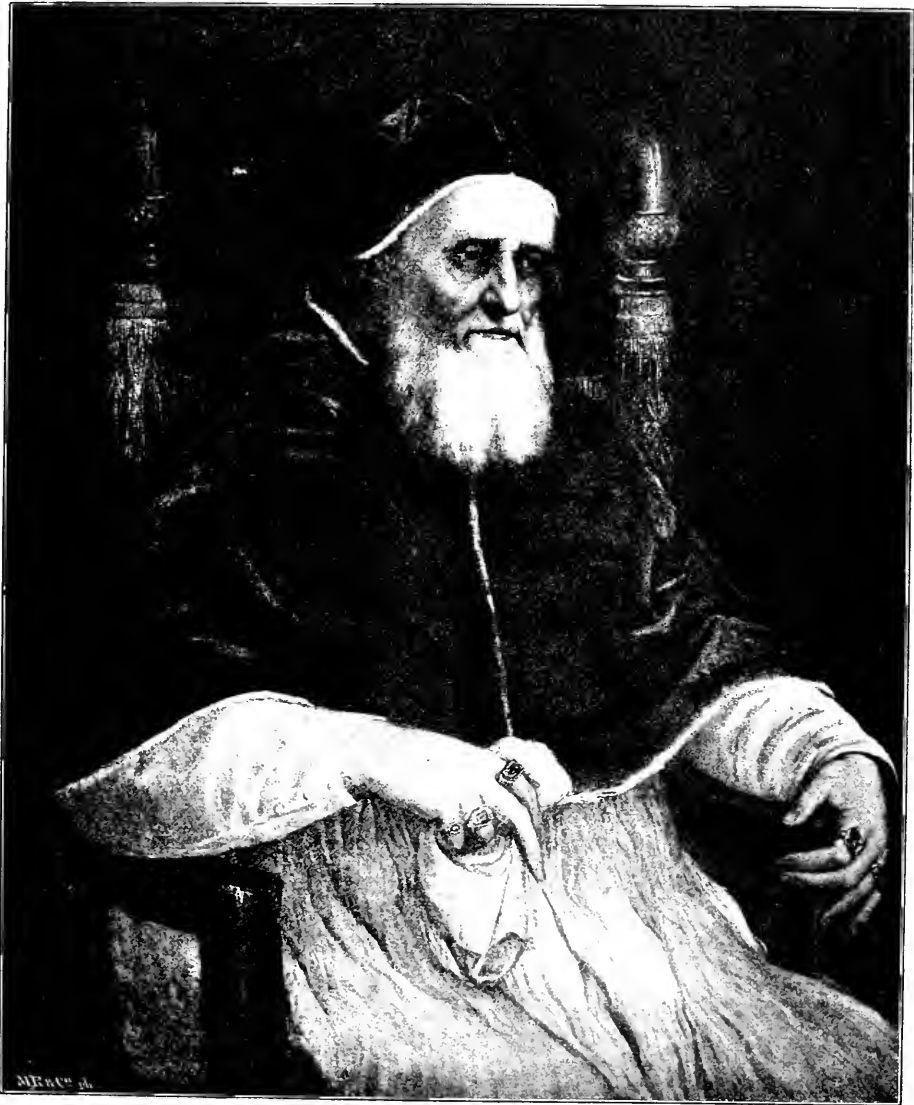


Fig. 52. PORTRAIT OF JULIUS II. In the Pitti Palace, Florence.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

turn first to the consideration of the other works which Raphael produced in the years 1508 to 1513 — for the master, in all the vigour of youth, was far from expending his whole power of creation on the great wall-paintings. A whole series of pictures of the Madonna belongs to this period. In the majority of them we observe a difference which is easily recognised

as compared with the Madonnas painted at Florence. The charm of a fervent but tranquil love is no longer sufficient; the pictures grow more serious in expression, they acquire, one may say, a more ecclesiastical stamp, which betrays itself especially in the fact, that the child Christ be-



Fig. 53. THEOLOGY. Painting on the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

comes the chief figure, rather than Mary; there is a lively impulse towards a greater display of power, a more vigorous pictorial effect in chiaroscuro and in full colour, an impulse towards emphatic movement in the lines, and fulness and strength in the contours; even the countenance of the

Virgin alters, and reflects the strongly marked type of beauty of the Roman women. There is still a Florentine delicacy in the head of the "Virgin with the diadem" (Fig. 67) in the Louvre, which is otherwise quite Roman in sentiment. In a landscape, the background of which is composed of



Fig. 54. PHILOSOPHY. Painting on the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

sharply drawn, bare mountain-outlines like those of the Sabine hills, while more to the front antique buildings and magnificent ruins tell of the impression which the Roman soil had made on the new-comer, the child Jesus lies asleep on a pillow. The Virgin-mother, characterised by a

diadem as Queen of Heaven, kneels by his side; she kneels, indeed, not in adoration, as we frequently see in pictures of the late middle ages, but with her arm cautiously extended to lift the veil from the boy's head, so that she can contemplate his face; she does so, however, not with a



Fig. 55. POETRY. Painting on the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican.

mother's blissful joy, but with deep seriousness, full of presentiment; next to her kneels the little St. John, praying with fervent devotion to the Saviour of the world, who has appeared in the form of a little child. In a picture, the original of which is lost, though a number of old copies are extant, the so-called "Madonna of Loreto"—the picture was kept, before its dis-

appearance, in the famous pilgrimage-church of Loreto—we see the child Christ in an enclosed room resting on a soft bed; the Virgin, over whose shoulder St. Joseph is looking, has just stepped up to him and has lifted the veil with which the child was covered; the latter stretches out his



Fig. 56. JUSTICE. Painting on the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican.

(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

little arms in eager joy towards his mother. Even from the more or less weak reproductions of the picture we can form an idea of the wealth of poetry which Raphael put into this subject, which he conceived once more with true human feeling, though in a composition of large and animated

lines. How completely Raphael found himself in harmony with the ideas of his time, in taking the highest human beauty as a medium for the expression of the divine, is proved by the words of Vasari, who says in describing this picture that the boy "is possessed of such beauty, that he



Fig. 57. THE FALL. Painting on the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican.

proves by the features of his head and by all his limbs that he is the true Son of God." The child's awakening is portrayed with incomparable truth to nature. A precious sheet of studies in the British Museum (Fig. 68) tells us how Raphael has sat at the bedside of a child and recorded with

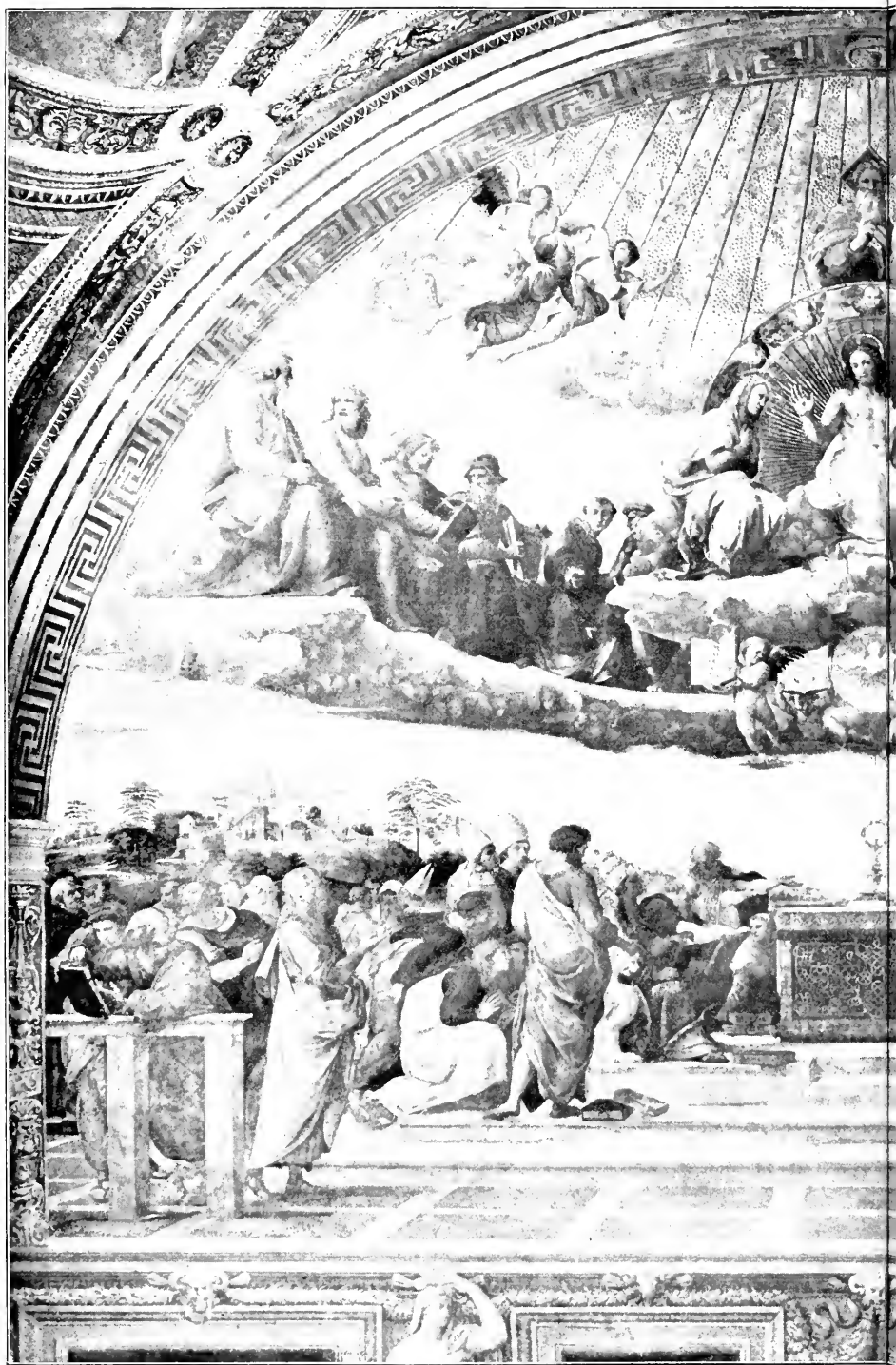


Fig. 58. THE DISPUTA. Fresco in the
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clém.)



Camera della Segnatura.
& Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)



Fig. 59 GOD THE FATHER, FROM THE DISPUTA.

a sure and masterly hand the changing postures of the helpless little creature just roused from sleep. The most finished of these sketches from nature was turned to account in the so-called "Bridgewater Madonna", which is to be found in the same English private collection as the "Madonna under the palm-tree". This is one of the few pictures of the Madonna of Raphael's Roman period which confine themselves, like the Florentine subjects, to portraying the happy, intimate union of mother and child. The original of a picture of the same kind, known as the "Madonna with the standing child", is lost; Raphael's magnificent studies for it of the heads of a young Roman lady and a laughing child from nature are preserved in the British Museum (Fig. 69). The same thoroughly Roman girl's head occurs again in the "Madonna Aldobrandini" in the London National Gallery. Here again the little St. John accompanies the mother and child; as in some Florentine idyll, he does homage to the child Christ by presenting a flower; but the landscape, of which there is a view through an open arched window, is of a Roman type, like the head of the Madonna. To the same group of pictures belongs a Holy Family in the Museum at Madrid, which has taken its title from a small lizard which is introduced in the foreground (Fig. 70). Here Mary sits under a tree, the dark branches of which stand out against the sky, on a stone which belongs to the ruins of a finely chiselled Roman marble monument; she lays her



Fig. 60. CHRIST, FROM THE DISPUTA.

left arm on a high stone adorned with a relief; on this St. Joseph also leans, standing behind her, and looks down tenderly on the child Jesus, who has climbed out of the cradle onto her knee and seems to be asking her what the words mean which are on the scroll unrolled by the little St. John. If in the head of the Virgin there is still much of the fragrant

charm of Florence, the difference as compared with the paintings of the Florentine period is all the more striking in the colour-scheme. The fine, delicate tone of those pictures is sacrificed altogether in aiming at a strong effect of light and shade.

The "Madonna del divino amore" (Fig. 71), the original of which is in the Naples Museum and a fine early copy in the Palazzo Borghese at Rome, indicates in the most emphatic way the change of manner, in religious conception as well as in the rendering of form and colour. Here the idea of the picture is firmly grasped and expressed with great picturesque effect, while, with regard to the subject, the Incarnate God forms most decidedly the central point in the representation. As regards space also the infant Christ occupies the centre of the picture; he sits astride on the knee of his mother, who folds her hands in adoration of him, and raises his hand in benediction — not as if in childish play, but with a conscious expression — towards the infant St. John, who bends the knee before him in reverence and humility. Just to remind us that this divine child is also a feeble child of man, he seeks support in his raised position against the knee of Elizabeth, who sits by the side of Mary and at the same time makes a prop for his raised arm with her hand. The

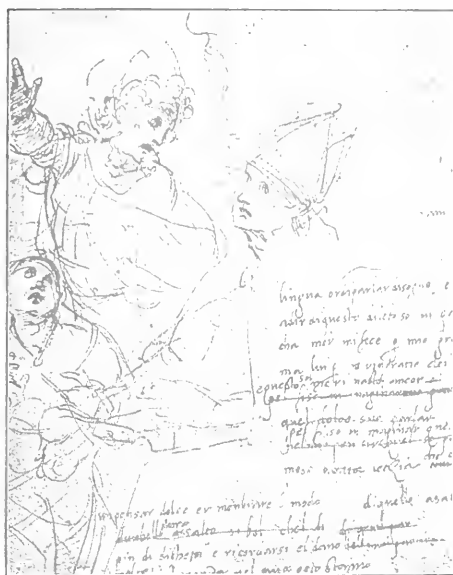


Fig. 61. SKETCH OF TWO BISHOPS FOR THE DISPUTA AND DRAUGHT OF AN UNFINISHED SONNET.
(See note below.)

infant Christ occupies the centre of the picture; he sits astride on the knee of his mother, who folds her hands in adoration of him, and raises his hand in benediction — not as if in childish play, but with a conscious expression — towards the infant St. John, who bends the knee before him in reverence and humility. Just to remind us that this divine child is also a feeble child of man, he seeks support in his raised position against the knee of Elizabeth, who sits by the side of Mary and at the same time makes a prop for his raised arm with her hand. The

(Reading and translation of the verses on the sketch for the Disputa at Vienna.)

*lingua or di parlar disoglio el nodo
a dir di questo diletoso iuga/no
chamor mi fece per mio gra[ve] affanno
ma lui par ne ringratio e lei n[on]e lodo
e questo sol mi rimasto ancor(i)
(struck out: pel fiso immaginar mio par(i))
quel dolce suo parlar)
pel fiso i-maginar quel(i)
(struck out: pel mio pensir quel so pa(i))
moso tanta letizia (com) che co
un pensar dolce e rincuorare il modo di quelle asal
(struck out: dun duro)
piu di dispetti e ricordarsi el dano
struck out: di quel par
del suo partire)
molte speranze nel mio peto stanno.*

Above, at the edge, the words *sano* and *ra/no* are noted as suggestions for rhymes.

The terminal syllables of the first strophe, which are lost owing to the leaf being cut down, are supplied from a complete sonnet (on a sheet of sketches at Oxford), which appears to be an altered version of the

incomplete one before us; it begins with the words: *un pensar dolce*, and contains the four lines: *lingua or di parlar*, etc., with slight alterations, as the second strophe.

Now, o tongue, I loosen the bonds of speech,
To tell of that delightful snare,
Which Love has set for me, to my great trouble;
But yet I thank him for it and her (i. e. the unnamed lady) I praise.

This alone still remains for me (in)

To keep my imagination fixed on that . . .

Moved, so great joy as

(Intervening lines struck out:

That it seems always to my imagination

That sweet speech of hers

For my thought that [speech] of hers)

A sweet thought it is, to recall the manner of that assault

(struck out: of a hard fair assault, so fair that the

Full of vexation is it to remember the loss

(struck out: of that [departure] of her departure)

Many hopes are stored within my breast.



Fig. 63. GROUP OF HEAD FROM THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS WITH RAPHAEL'S OWN PORTRAIT.
(The older painter next to Raphael, commonly called Perugino, is probably Sodoma.)

scene of the action is a vast and partially ruined antique building; through one of the arches the foster-father, Joseph, wrapped in his mantle, is seen entering in the background.

In several other pictures of the Madonna of the same period, among which the "Madonna del Passeggio" (Fig. 72)—designed by Raphael, though none of the extant versions are actually by his hand—is perhaps the best known, the Florentine key-note asserts itself again more strongly. That is also the case in a round picture, the "Madonna of the House of Alba", in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (Fig. 73). The Lille Museum possesses a sheet of red chalk studies belonging to it, which claims our close attention in several respects. On one side we see the design for the picture, slightly drawn, but definitely settled in all essential points (Fig. 74). It was only as to details that Raphael had not yet quite made up his mind, when he made the drawing. Thus we see the traces of a book, subsequently obliterated, which the Virgin held in her right hand; in the picture as carried out this has been transferred to the unoccupied left hand. The object which the little St. John presents, and, accordingly, the right hand of the infant Christ, which is stretched out to receive this object, have also undergone alterations; first there was a cross of reeds; then a lamb took the place of the cross; while in the picture the cross of reeds is restored once more. We see in the lower corner of the sheet an incidental experiment

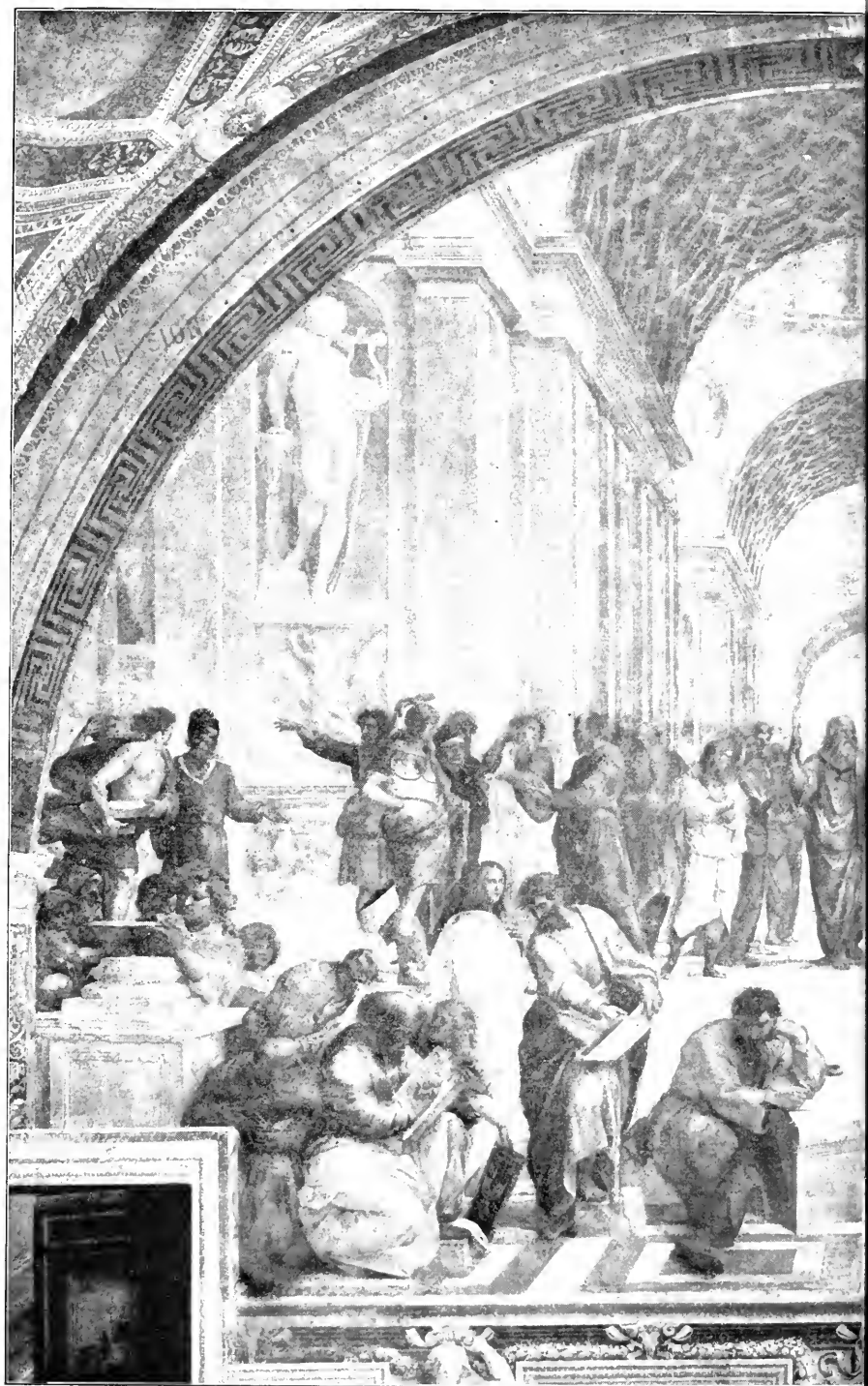
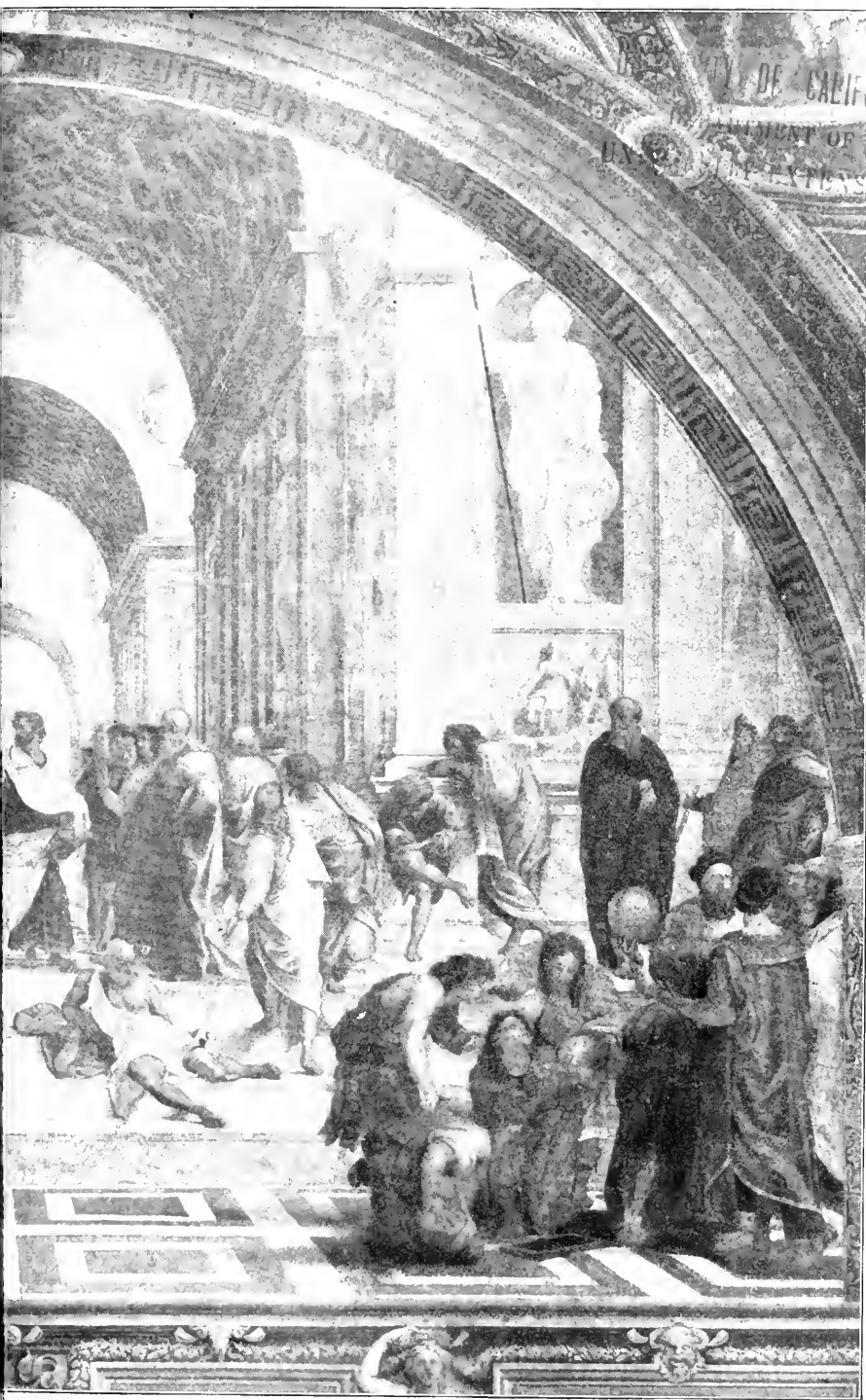
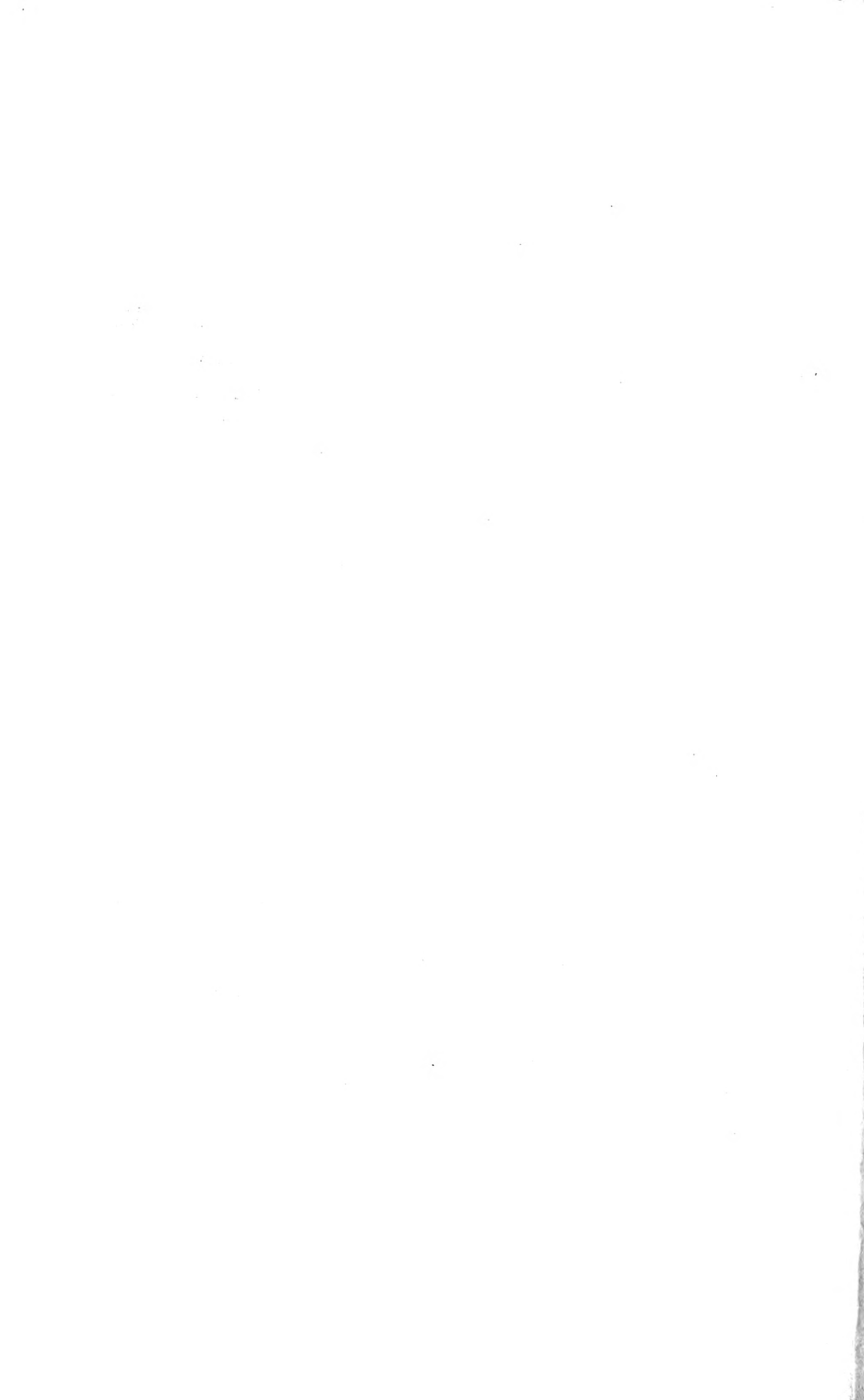


Fig. 02. THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS. Fresco
(After an original photograph by Braun, 1865)



the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican.
gent & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)



in giving quite a different position to the infant Christ. The sandal which is placed on the Virgin's foot, not only in the picture but also in the



Fig. 64. PERINUCCIO. Fresco in the Stanza della Segnatura

preliminary sketch, points to the study of ancient sculpture. The position of Mary was regarded by Raphael from the first as successful, with the

exception of the right hand, for which he afterwards found a solution of the difficulty by letting it embrace the child. Now he wanted at once to make sure of the balance of the body in this rather difficult attitude, and drew a study from nature on the back of the sheet (Fig. 75). As model



Fig. 65. APOLLO, from the Parnassus.

he took a young man, who sat without his outer garment and with bare legs; he drew the legs with the greatest care, especially the knees, which in the finished picture had to give the principal evidence of the presence of a correctly formed body under the ample draperies; the model's head did not interest him—he drew it, indeed, in detail in connection with the

figure, but while he was drawing from the young apprentice his thoughts were bent on the countenance of the Madonna, which he had before him in his mind's eye; the right arm, about which he was still undecided, he merely indicated; but he already placed the book in the left hand. But it is not only the sketch and study for the "Madonna of the House of Alba" which make the sheet so interesting. Above the sketch there are a variety of drawings near the margin: a building in ground-plan and elevation, and then, repeated in two experimental versions, a sketch for a Madonna, who sits on a chair with the child on her lap, nestling tenderly against her. In these two small designs, one of which shows the two figures alone, while the head

of the little St. John is also visible in the other, which latter, owing to the repeated alterations and re-touchings of the outlines, shows through on the other side of the sheet — in these insignificant-looking drawings we recognise the first record of the thought which took shape in that picture which has won the favour of the widest circles more than any other creation of Raphael's and was destined, reproduced in every imaginable style, to become the favourite of the whole world — the "Madonna della Sedia" (Fig. 76).

Everybody knows the subject of this supreme picture of love, this absolute union of mother and child. But we must see the original in the Pitti Palace in order fully to comprehend that this picture of the purest humanity does not merely acquire a religious significance from the child St. John's look of faith and piety and his folded hands, but is raised to a more than earthly height by the consecration of the highest artistic beauty. With all that, the picture looks so wonderfully simple and natural, as if it could not be different from what it is, and we understand how the childish legend may have been formed, that Raphael drew this group one day immediately from life, in the street, on the end of a cask (hence the circular shape), which lay just at hand: the legend is very significant as a naïve attempt to explain the immediate truth which speaks in the picture; but it is, in reality, true of this picture especially that nothing is accidental; every tiniest stroke, every gentlest movement of the outline has been well thought out; all is the fruit of the maturest deliberation of the artist, who

Fig. 66. STUDIES FROM NATURE FOR THE DRAPEY AND HAND OF A FIGURE IN THE PARNASSUS. British Museum.

knew how to produce a work of the purest harmony, without in the least sacrificing the outward appearance of naturalness.



Fig. 67. MADONNA WITH THE DIADEM. In the Louvre.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

Two altar-pieces, which Raphael painted at this time, are kept strictly in a tone of religious solemnity. One is the "Madonna di Foligno" (Fig. 77),

painted as a commission for the papal chamberlain Sigismondo de' Conti of Foligno, originally placed in the church of Araceli at Rome, then transferred to Foligno, carried off at the end of the last century by the French, and hung since 1815 in the collection of the restored works of art in the Vatican. Deliverance from some peril of war seems to have been the motive which led the chamberlain to dedicate the picture; there is an allusion to this in the bomb at the back at the picture, which plunges into the town of Foligno, leaving a long fiery trail behind it. But the rainbow, the heavenly token of peace, already spans the town. Over it appears, enthroned on clouds, in a brilliant halo with a circle of hovering angels around it, the Mother of Mercy with her child. Mary appears the personification of modesty, whose gaze perceives nothing beyond the Son of God, whom she bears in her arms. The child Christ looks down graciously on



Fig. 60. STUDIES OF HEADS FOR THE LOST PICTURE OF THE MADONNA WITH THE CHILD STANDING.

British Museum.

Fig. 68. STUDIES OF CHILDREN FROM NATURE.
British Museum.

the chamberlain, who kneels on the ground and sends his thanks to heaven in fervent prayer, while three saints stand by his side as intercessors: St. Jerome has laid his hand on his head and commends him with an eloquent gesture to divine grace; opposite stands St. John, the stern preacher of repentance, and points with his hand to the Saviour of the world; next to him kneels in fervent worship — a marvel of expression — St. Francis, glowing with divine love. Between the two praying figures stands a little naked angel, one of those delicious childish forms, full of soul, which are peculiarly Raphael's own, holding a little tablet destined to contain a dedicatory inscription.

The second altar-piece is derived



Fig. 70. THE HOLY FAMILY WITH THE LIZARD. In the Prado Gallery, Madrid.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

from the church of San Domenico at Naples, and is now in the museum at Madrid. It bears the title of the "Madonna with the Fish". As an offering of supplication or of gratitude, it refers to the curing of a disease of the eye. The young Tobias, who holds in his hand the fish with the gall of which he has restored sight to his father is led by the angel

to the throne of the Virgin, by whose side stands St. Jerome, the translator of the Bible; both are praying earnestly, and the divine child rises, supported by his mother, stretches out his hand, and the cure is granted (Fig. 78). The "Madonna with the Fish" is one of Raphael's most beauti-



Fig. 71. MADONNA DEL DIVINO AMORE. In the Naples Museum.

ful easel-pictures, it is as great and serious in conception as it is beautiful in colour. The "Madonna di Foligno" is also distinguished by a splendour of colouring which Raphael had never previously attained. But in this case the brilliant colours are brought into a harmony not inferior in the



Fig. 72. MADONNA DEL PASSEGGIO. From a modern engraving.



Fig. 73. MADONNA OF THE HOUSE OF ALBA. In the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

merit of painting to the delicate tones of the Florentine Madonnas. The festal harmony of colours seems to be an immediate artistic expression of the mood which gave rise to the work. The light flesh-tones of the central group stand between various tones of blue and green: Mary's robe is greenish blue, the sleeve of her dress bright blue, the curtain dark green, the sky and the glimpse of the distance dark blue. Against this deep sky-blue St. Jerome stands out effectively with his brownish complexion and glowing red robe; the cover of the book in his hand is, again, a warm green. The dark yellowish colour of the lion which lies at the feet of the father of the church forms a transition to the light brown of the wood of the throne and its steps. A pronounced yellow, shot with a reddish hue, appears in the coat of the fair-haired Tobias. The figure of the angel is enlivened with a variegated play of colour; his sleeve, of a cold, yellowish tone, approaches the colour of Tobias' coat; his outer

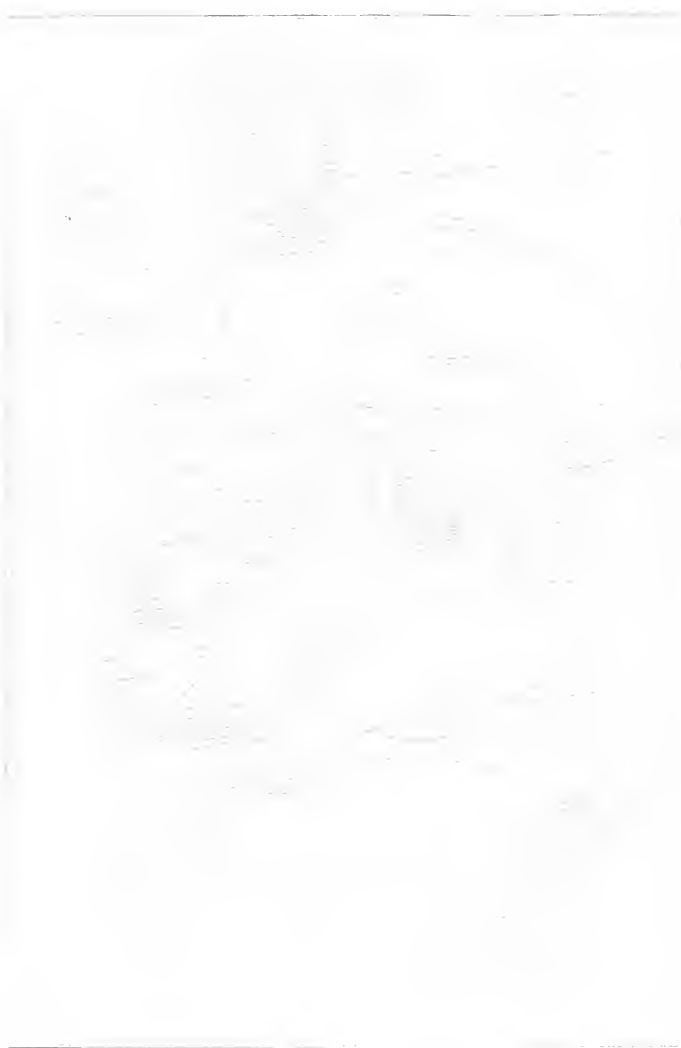


Fig. 74. DESIGN FOR THE MADONNA OF THE HOUSE OF ALBA AT ST. PETERSBURG.
Lille Museum.

garment is crimson shot with pale lilac in the lights, and those colours combine with the bright, warm flesh-tint, the bright, brown hair and the white wings to produce an effect of full tone against the dark-green background of the curtain.

Closely related to the "Madonna with the Fish" in respect of the features, attitude and movement of the Virgin, is a Madonna in the collection of Sir J. C. Robinson, London, which, like the "Madonna della Sedia", shows a composition of the infant Christ and the bust of the Virgin within a circle. In contrast to the former circular picture, this one is full of solemnity, in spite of the movement of the infant Jesus, that of a true

Fig. 75. Back of the preceding sheet: STUDY FROM A MODEL FOR THE FIGURE OF THE VIRGIN.
Lille Museum.

child of man; angels appearing to left and right, who hold burning tapers, heighten the sense of worship in the picture (Fig. 79).

To the time of Julius II. belong the first engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi from drawings by Raphael. Marcantonio came to Rome about 1510, and was employed at first, as in the immediately preceding years at Venice, chiefly in engraving copies of Dürer's works, but he soon entered the service of Raphael as well. For Raphael, of whom it is related that he decorated his studio with Dürer's prints, was desirous of seeing his own creations also multiplied in this way. For this purpose he engaged the Bolognese engraver, and so contributed indirectly by the beauty of his



Fig. 76. MADONNA DELLA SEDIA. In the Pitti Palace, Florence.

drawings to perfecting the art of engraving in Italy. We have to thank the burin of Marcantonio for our knowledge of a whole series of compositions by Raphael which were never carried out in paintings, or, if so, in an altered form. Among the first prints which this master engraved after Raphael are the "Death of Lucretia" and the "Massacre of the Innocents" (Fig. 80). They are contemporaneous with reproductions of drawings for frescos in the Stanza della Segnatura. As to the date of Raphael's composition of the massacre of the innocents, we are guided by the circumstance that on a sheet of sketches in the Albertina, which contains the designs for Astronomy and a study for a figure in the Judgment of Solomon, there is also the design for one of the principal figures of this scene. A large sketch for this engraving, with figures in the nude in order to determine the movements with precision, is preserved in the British Museum (Fig. 81).

In addition to his activity in the Vatican, Raphael also found time to carry out a fresco for a private patron. As a commission from Johannes



Fig. 77 MADONNA DI FOLIGNO. In the Vatican Gallery.

Goritz of Luxemburg, an elderly scholar, cheerful, sociable and universally popular, who held the office of a collector of petitions to the Pope, he



Fig. 78. MADONNA WITH THE FISH. In the Prado Gallery, Madrid.
(After an original photograph by J. Laurent & Co., Madrid.)

painted on a pillar in the church of Sant' Agostino the Prophet Isaiah, the powerful form of an aged man sitting between two youthful genii. We can no longer recognise anything more than the general plan of this work



Fig. 79. MADONNA WITH THE CANDELABRA. In the collection of Sir J. C. Robinson. London.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

of Raphael, in which Vasari was convinced that he observed the influence of the mighty productions of Michelangelo; for the picture was repainted even in the 16th century, since it was threatened with complete decay, and now it is once more a ruin. A repetition of one of the angels, also not particularly well preserved, a fragment of a decorative wall-painting from the Vatican, which depicted the papal arms carried by two genii, is now in the collection of the Academy of St. Luke at Rome.

Let us now return to Raphael's principal occupation, the decoration of the apartments of the Vatican. The whole content of the paintings in the Stanza della Segnatura has been described with point as the confession of faith of the Renaissance. But the great Renaissance prince, who had it painted, was also Pope of Rome, and the second chamber was devoted to the glorification of the church. The picture which has given its name to the Stanza d'Eliodoro represents the expulsion from the Temple at Jerusalem



Fig. 86. THE MESSENGER OF THE INNOCENTS. Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi.

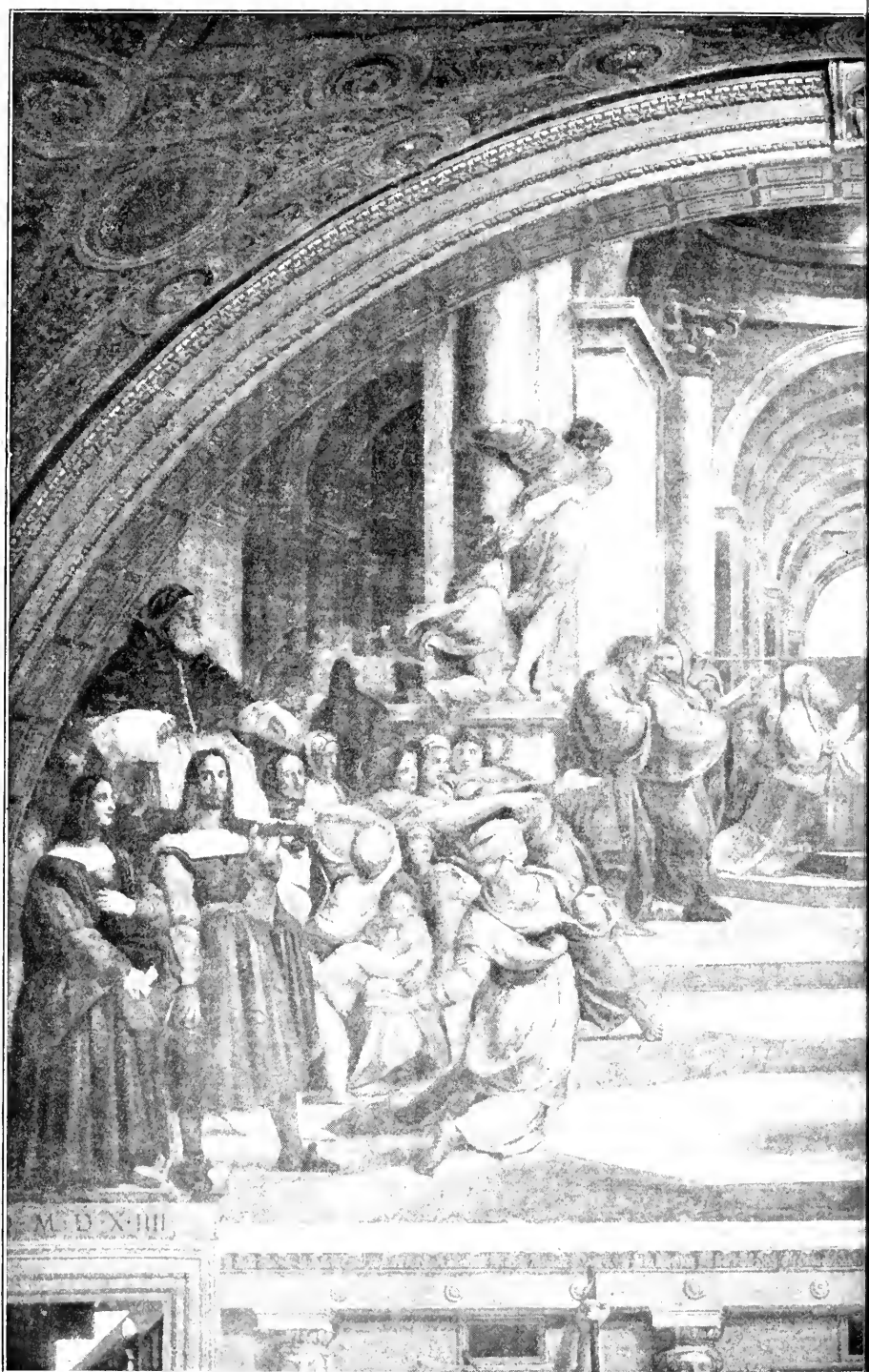


Fig. 82. HELIODORUS. F.
(After an original photograph by Braun, 1896)



sco in the Vatican.
ent & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.,

Fig. 81. PRELIMINARY DRAWING OF NUDE FIGURES FOR THE ENGRAVING OF THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.
In the British Museum, London.

of the Syrian commander Heliodorus, according to the second chapter of the second book of Maccabees (Fig. 82). The heavenly champion, accompanied by two youthful figures rushing through the air in violent motion, has dashed the plunderer of the Temple to the ground with irresistible force. The people who behold the miracle form an excited throng. But quite in the background we see a group assisting at the event in complete tranquillity: Pope Julius II., enthroned on a litter, as was usual in solemn processions, fixes his gaze on the heavenly warrior (Fig. 83). In this way a special allusion is introduced into the picture, by which alone its full significance is explained: Pope Julius II., who had reconquered a large territory from the Venetians and in whose soul there was a burning wish for the expulsion of the French from Italy, sees here symbolically the heavenly hosts freeing the church from her enemies. Among the persons who form his suite we observe distinct portraits: the young man who walks by his side is identified by the writing on a paper in his hand as the papal secretary Johannes Petrus de Folcariis; one of the bearers of the papal chair passes for the engraver Marcantonio; but what German who beheld the face framed in flowing locks, with its lofty brow, open eyes, fine nose and short beard, could fail to think of Dürer? We know from Vasari that Dürer sent to Raphael a portrait of himself painted in tempera on canvas, as a token of his esteem.

The next picture immediately follows the "Heliodorus" in the sequence of thought. As in the first Julius II. beholds the triumph of the church over its worldly opponent, so here he assists at the triumph of ecclesiastical doctrine over doubt. A Bohemian priest, so the legend tells, had doubted



Fig. 83. THE GROUP OF PORTRAITS IN THE PICTURE OF HELIODORUS IN THE VATICAN.

the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar; whilst he was saying Mass at Bolsena, drops of blood issued from the Host, as soon as he had pronounced the words of consecration, and convinced him of his error. That is the subject of the "Mass of Bolsena". The people perceive in joyous amazement the miracle which has displayed itself to the priest; in imperturbable calm, with a faith as strong as the rocks, the Pope kneels facing the ashamed and converted doubter. By the arrangement of a choir, in which the altar stands, approached on both sides by steps, and by a very clever distribution of the crowd of people and of the papal retinue, Raphael has managed in a most masterly way to build up his composition without an appearance of constraint round the window which cuts into the area of the picture (Fig. 84).

On the following picture there is no longer the Pope appearing as a mere spectator, but a Pope is the principal person in the action: Leo I., the Great, causes Attila to turn back before Rome. We find ourselves within the precincts of the Eternal City; the Colosseum, the long series

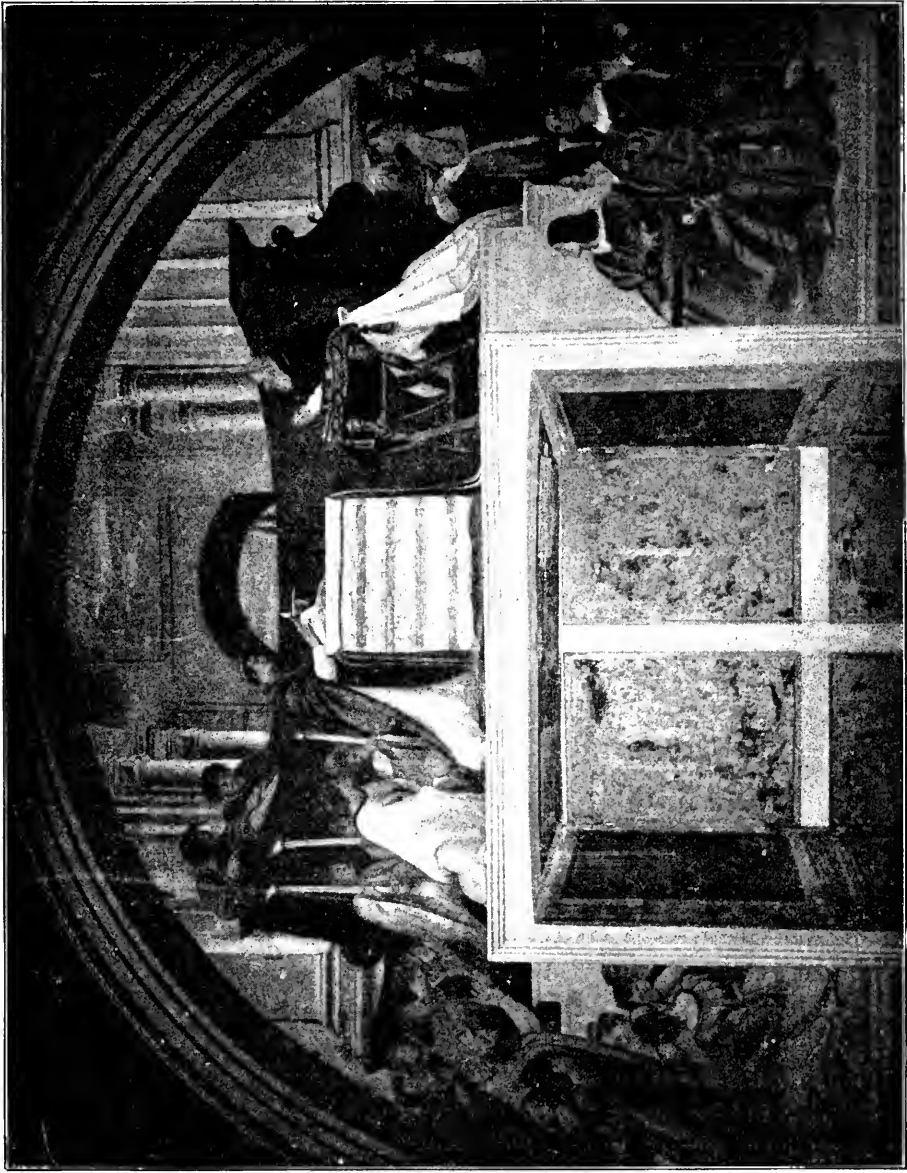


Fig. 34. THE MASS OF BOLSENA. Fresco in the Camera d'Eliodoro in the Vatican.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

of arches of an ancient aqueduct, the cypresses of a villa surrounded by high walls, are painted on the horizon; on Monte Mario burning farms mark the way which the merciless foe has taken. The troops of mounted Huns press on in wild confusion; the Pope, accompanied by a few cardinals, rides in, stately calm to meet the barbarians. We seem to see the motion

of Leo's lips, as he addresses Attila in gentle and serious words. But what strikes horror to the heart of the terrible foe, and makes him turn his horse back with an involuntary pressure of the thigh, is a threatening vision: over the Pope hover with gleaming swords in their hands the princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul (Fig. 85). The splendid painting, which in contrast to that on the opposite side, where heavenly weapons smite down the church's enemies, represents the protection of the papal domains by the power of persuasion, was begun in the time of Julius II. But the Pope who is represented here bears the features as well as the name of the successor of the iron Julius, Leo X., of the house of the great patrons of art, the Medici.

In the Battle of Ravenna (11th April, 1512) Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici had been taken prisoner by the French, and had escaped under unusual circumstances. It is natural to suppose that when he became Pope he decided in memory of this event, that the liberation of the person of the Pope should be represented on the

Fig. 86. STUDY FROM NATURE FOR ONE OF THE CARYATIDS beneath the wall-paintings in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican. Red chalk drawing in the Louvre.

remaining wall of the chamber, in which his predecessor had ordered pictures to be painted of the liberation of the church and of the church's dominions; the deliverance of St Peter from prison presented itself naturally as the subject. Yet the choice of this subject is so intimately connected with the sequence of ideas which composes the contents of the whole cycle of paintings, that it is not necessary to seek for such an explanation from external reasons; the whole Papacy appears symbolised in the person of the first Pope, whom the heavenly powers protect, and this subject contains, as it were, the scriptural foundation of the contents of all the rest. In all the paintings of the Stanza d'Eliodoro we observe that Raphael has laid more stress than in the Stanza della Segnatura on the effects of colouring. In the last picture he indulged in bold effects of light. Over the window in this wall we look through the iron bars of a painted window into the interior of the prison. Peter sits asleep on the ground, with chains round neck, hands and feet; two guards, also asleep, lean against the walls. In a flood of dazzling radiance an angel has appeared in the gloomy room, and wakes Peter, that he may throw off his bonds and follow him. On the left we see a warrior with a torch on the step outside startling with a loud call the



Fig. 85. ATILA. Fresco in the C
(After an original photograph by Braun, Cl)



...a d'Elidoro in the Vatican.
...t & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.

guards who have gone to sleep in the hot moonlight night, and calling their attention to the fact that something unusual is going on in the dungeon. But his warning comes too late; for on the other side the prisoner, holding the radiant angel by the hand, is already stepping into the open street.



Fig. 37. L'ESPULSION DEL BORGO. Wall-painting in the Vatican.

On the socle under the wall-paintings are Caryatids painted in grisaille; they were very thoroughly and very badly repainted in the last century, but there is still a slight glimmering of Raphael's tasteful design through it all. In the Louvre is a study drawn from nature in red chalk for one



Fig. 88. GROUP FROM THE INCENDIO DEL BORGO.

of these figures (Fig. 86). On the ceiling, within an older frame which was retained, are painted four scenes from the Old Testament, of typical significance. These are, "The Sacrifice of Isaac" over the Mass of Bolsena, "The Lord in the burning bush" over the Heliodorus, "The Lord appearing to Noah" over Attila, "Jacob's Dream" over the deliverance of St. Peter. Most of this does not belong to Raphael, even as regards design; it is the work of pupils. Soon after the accession of Leo X. began the time, when the master was so overloaded with work that he had only leisure to control the design and was obliged to leave the greater part of the execution to the hands of his assistants, among whom Giulio Romano (born 1498, died 1546) was foremost.

The Stanza d'Eliodoro was finished in the year 1514. At the brilliant



Fig. 89. GROUP FROM THE INCENDIO DEL BORGO.

court of Leo X. Raphael held a brilliant position. "He never went to court but he had the company of fifty painters—good and valiant painters, all of them—who escorted him from the moment when he left his dwelling; indeed, he lived not as a painter, but as a prince." So Vasari relates. On the 1st July in that year the master wrote a detailed letter to his uncle Simone Ciarla at Urbino about his circumstances and his occupations. The document, highly interesting in many respects, the most comprehensive of the few extant specimens of Raphael's epistolary style, runs, in a literal translation, as follows:

"Beloved in place of a father!

I have received your letter, which is a very precious proof to me that you are not angry with me, as indeed you have no right to be,

considering how tiresome it is to write when nothing of importance occurs. Now, when I have matters of importance, I reply to you, to tell you circumstantially everything which I can impart. In the first place, as regards taking a wife, I reply to you that in respect of her, whom erewhile you were for giving me, I am quite at ease, and thank God continually that I have taken neither her nor another, and in that I have been more prudent than you, who wished to give her to me. I am sure that you, too, have now recognised that I should not be in the position where I now am; up to the present time I find myself in the position of holding property at Rome worth three thousand gold ducats, and an income of fifty gold dollars (monthly), since His Holiness our Master has given me a salary of three hundred gold ducats for conducting the building of St. Peter's, and this salary is never to fail so long as I live, and I am sure to obtain still more, and, further, I am paid for my work according to my own estimate, and I have begun to paint another chamber for His Holiness, which will come to one thousand two hundred gold ducats, so that I do credit, dearest uncle, to you and all my relatives and to my native place; but, for all that, I carry you always in my inmost heart, and when I hear your name it seems to me as if I heard the name of a father; and do not complain of my not writing to you; I should rather have reason to complain of you, since you have a pen in your hand all day long and yet let six months pass between one letter and the next; but, with all that, you will not make me chide you, as you do me without just cause. I have wandered from the subject of marriage, but, to return to it, I reply to you: know that Santa Maria in Portico (i. e. Cardinal Bernardo Dovizio, called Bibbiena, who bore the title of this church) wishes to give me a relative of his own, and I have promised him, with the permission of my clerical uncle (Don Bartolommeo, Arch-priest at Urbino, who had been Raphael's guardian) and with yours, to do everything which His Reverence's Grace requires of me; I cannot break my word, we are on closer terms than ever, and I shall soon inform you about everything. Have patience till this good affair is decided, and then, if I do not do this, I will do what you want. And if Francesco Buffa has parties to propose, let him know that I have too; I find at Rome a pretty little woman, of very good reputation, according to what I have heard, both herself and also her belongings, who will give me three thousand gold dollars as a marriage portion; and I live in my own house at Rome, while a hundred ducats here are worth more than two hundred there, of that you may be sure. As regards staying at Rome, I shall never be able to stay anywhere else again, out of love for the building of St. Peter's; for I am in Bramante's place; but what spot on earth is more dignified than Rome, what enterprise more dignified than St. Peter's? It is the first temple of the world, and the greatest piece of building that has ever been seen; it will come to more than a million in gold; and know that the Pope has resolved to spend sixty thousand

Fig. 60. STUDIES FROM THE NUDE FOR THE BATTLE OF OSTIA.

Red chalk drawing in the Albertina, Vienna.

Sent to Albrecht Dürer as a present, and inscribed by him with the note: "1515. Raphael of Urbino, who is so highly esteemed by the Pope, made this study of the nude and sent it to Albrecht Dürer at Nuremberg, to show him his handiwork".

ducats yearly on this building, and he thinks of nothing else. He has given me an assistant, a very learned monk, more than eighty years of age; the Pope sees that he cannot live much longer, so His Holiness has resolved to give him to me as an assistant, since he is a man of great reputation and great wisdom, in order that I may learn any fine secret in architecture which he possesses, that I may become quite perfect in this art; his name is Fra Giocondo*); and every day the Pope has us summoned and speaks a little while with us about this building. I beg you to go to the Duke and Duchess and tell them this; for I know that it will be a pleasure to them to hear that one of their subjects is doing himself credit; and commend me to their lordships; and I commend myself to you continually. Greet all my friends and relatives, and especially Ridolfo, who has shown me so much kindness and affection. The 1st July 1514.

Your Raphael, painter at Rome.

When we read that Raphael had again already begun to paint a new chamber in the Vatican, it cannot but seem a matter of course after the success which had followed him hitherto. But the intelligence is surprising, that the control of the building of St. Peter's had been transferred to him in place of the deceased Bramante. Bramante died on 11th March, 1514; on his deathbed he had recommended Raphael as his successor, as we learn from the Pope's official document making the appointment. The model and plan which Raphael sent in met with the Pope's approval. The master probably felt the great burden which this new honour laid on him. But he threw himself with zeal, in the wish "to find out the beautiful forms of the ancient buildings", into the study of Vitruvius and such monuments of ancient architecture as had been preserved. An old scholar, Fabio Calvi, whom he kindly received into his house, translated for him the works of the ancient architect into Italian. This occupation with the relics of ancient buildings filled up a large part of Raphael's time during the latter years of his life; he measured and drew the monuments and began the vast undertaking of presenting to his contemporaries the whole splendour of the ancient town in reconstructions. It effected him painfully when he had to look on while many a classical ruin was cleared away, although the marble piles of ancient Rome were no longer used so ruthlessly as quarries as they had been in the middle ages. In one point he was successful in saving countless invaluable relics of antiquity: on the 27th August 1515 he was named by a papal brief overseer of all excavations in Rome

* The Dominican Fra Giocondo of Verona carried out many important public buildings in Italy and France; he was also employed as a teacher and published a number of scientific works of different kinds; he was an important member of the series of architects of the Italian Renaissance.

and in the circuit of ten miles round Rome, with the express authority to prevent the destruction of every inscribed stone. Numerous engravings of Marcantonio and his school bear witness to Raphael's interest in ancient sculpture, both such as present mythological compositions of Raphael's own,



Fig. 94. THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE. Fresco in the Sala dell'Incendio in the Vatican.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach, Alsace, and Paris.)

which are derived from the contemplation of the antique, and also such as copy the antique statues themselves at his instigation.

Raphael remained till his death architect of St. Peter's, for a time without an assistant—the old Fra Giocondo did not live longer than 1515 and then, again, for a time, with one. We cannot see anything of the work

which he contributed to the giant cathedral; for his principal task in the first place was the supplementary strengthening of the foundation walls under the pillars of the cupola; his further plans were upset again at a later date.

Raphael's activity as an architect, in which he showed himself a loyal disciple of Bramante, was not confined to the building of St. Peter's. A whole series of buildings, some of which Vasari names expressly, were carried out from his drawings. For Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (afterwards Pope Clement VII.) he prepared the plans for a country-house: this was the Villa on Monte Mario, never quite completed and partly altered at a later time, which is named Villa Madama, from the title of its later possessor, Margaret of Parma, daughter of the Emperor Charles V. One of his principal works, the palace of the papal chamberlain Branconio d'Aquila, fell a victim to the laying out of the great colonnade on the Piazza of St. Peter's; but old representations have preserved a view of the fine façade. On the other hand, the Palazzo Pandolfini at Florence, also carried out from Raphael's design, but not until long after his death, is in good preservation.

The chamber of the Vatican, which Raphael began to paint in the year 1514, bears the name of the Sala dell' Incendio, from the most important of its wall-paintings, which represents the burning of the Borgo, which Pope Leo IV. checked by his benediction. The closer connection between the paintings of this chamber is confined to the fact that, in all four, deeds of Popes of the name of Leo are celebrated. The paintings on the ceiling are not to be considered, for here the existing frescos were allowed to remain; Perugino had executed them, and they owed their preservation to Raphael's veneration for his old teacher. The picture of the "Incendio del Borgo" (Fig. 87) still reveals Raphael's design in all integrity, although it was carried out for the most part by pupils. The representation of the exciting events incidental to a conflagration forms, at least as regards space, the principal contents of the magnificent painting. To the left we see a splendid group (Fig. 88) suggested to the painter by Virgil's narrative of the burning of Troy; a strong man, accompanied by a beautiful boy, carries his aged father on his back from the burning house, as Aeneas carried Anchises. Next to these a youth is saving himself by letting himself drop, stretched out at full length, down along the wall; a woman throws a child in swaddling-clothes down from the top to her husband, who reaches out his hands to catch it. On the other side attempts are being made to quench the fire; young women, whose garments are lashed by the wind round their powerful limbs, cry out and carry water to pour on the flames. Women and children are huddled together shrieking in the streets; in the general helplessness some of them turn their gaze to the Vatican palace beside the ancient Basilica of St. Peter's: the Vicar of Christ must needs aid them. Indeed a group of persons have already arrived there in confident faith and are kneeling before the Pope's windows;

the Saint appears and lifts his right hand in blessing; his prayer is to break the force of the fire. In contemplating the lively passages of the foreground the spectator may easily overlook the small figures in the distance, and



Fig. 92. GALATEA. Wall-painting in the Farnesina (Chigi's Villa)

yet this group of suppliants desperately yet confidently beseeching help is, itself, a magnificent creation. In the splendid figures of the foreground Raphael has given a proof of his power to reproduce the human body in attitudes of violent motion with a knowledge in no way inferior to that of

Michelangelo, whose works, according to Vasari, incited him at Florence to the study of anatomy. The figures of the *Incendio del Borgo* in their artistic beauty of form constituted accordingly one of the chief sources of study to Raphael's pupils and their successors. In different collections numerous copies from these figures are preserved, drawn partly in sepia-wash heightened with white, partly in red chalk; among them examples of a kind of exercise which was assiduously practised at that time, the reconstruction, from the draped figures, of the nude which was concealed with unfailing correctness beneath them. That these are not preliminary studies of Raphael's own, is proved at once by their exact correspondence with the figures as carried out, by which they may be recognised as drawings from the fresco itself and not from nature, to say nothing of the style of drawing and the knowledge of form which is sometimes defective. The very different sharpness and intelligence of Raphael's drawing from nature is shown by the splendid sheet with two studies from the nude, which he presented to Albert Dürer in the year 1515 (preserved in the Albertina). The two figures drawn in red chalk (Fig. 90) are studies from models for two warriors in the foreground of the second wall-painting, the "*Battle of Ostia*". The victory of Leo IV. over the Saracens in the year 849 is the subject of the picture, an appropriate theme at a time when the Turks were once more threatening Italy. While the conflict is still raging, we see that the victory is already decided; at the gate of the fortress the prisoners are led before the Pope, who bears the features of Leo X. It is evident that in this picture Raphael left to his pupils not only the whole of the execution but also much of the working-out of the groups. The preponderance of the work in the two other frescoes belongs to Raphael's assistants; they are both pictures of ceremonies, which, merely as such, may have had little attraction for the master. One represents Leo III.'s oath of purgation. Charlemagne, summoned by the Pope (in the year 800) to help him against the rebellious nobles of Rome, has invited both parties to appear before him that he may hear them and pronounce judgment accordingly; the Pope, however, refuses to recognise any earthly judge over him, and clears himself by a spontaneous oath from all accusations. By the inscription: "It is for God: not for man, to judge Bishops", the picture conveys an immediate reference to a resolution of the Lateran council, which was sitting at the time when it was being carried out. The fourth picture shows the coronation of Charlemagne. We recognise, of course, Leo X. again in Leo III.; the Emperor is said to be a likeness of Francis I. of France, who concluded an alliance with the Pope soon after his accession (1515). For the rest, this picture, in which the monotony of representing a solemn assembly of church dignitaries put special difficulties in the way of artistic success, is a masterpiece in respect of picturesque effect (Fig. 91).

The completion of the *Stanza dell' Incendio* falls within the year 1517. We must not be surprised that Raphael made great use of the collaboration of his assistants in this task, for the abundance of the productions which



Fig. 93. Tim. Strozzi. Wall-painting in the Church of Sta. Maria della Pace, Rome.



Fig. 94. STUDY FOR A SIBYL.
Oxford Gallery.

date from the same time is quite incredible, while he regarded the supervision of the building of St. Peter's all the time as his principal task.

Next to the Pope it was the rich and artistic banker, Agostino Chigi, who secured the master most frequently to carry out his commissions. We learn that Raphael was preparing the drawings for two salvers for him as early as 1510. On several later occasions he furnished him with architectural designs; for instance, for a magnificent stable, which Chigi in the year 1518, before installing his hundred horses with golden harness, turned by the most costly decoration into a festal hall of fairy-like beauty, in order to entertain the Pope, fourteen Cardinals and numerous foreign ambassadors with more than princely splendour and profusion. It is more important to posterity that it owes to Chigi's love of art a number of splendid wall-paintings by Raphael. The first of these were produced contemporaneously with the earliest

work in the Sala dell' Incendio. Chigi had had a villa built for himself in a situation which then lay outside the town, between the river and the slope of the Janiculum. This was the charming little building, which at a later date, after it had passed into the possession of the Farnese family, received the name of the Villa Farnesina. Here Raphael painted in the loggia facing the Garden, as a pendant to Polyphemus, (painted by another hand and afterwards very badly restored) the nymph Galatea, beloved in vain by the Cyclops. On a shell drawn by two dolphins the beautiful nymph glides over the mirror-like surface of the sea and listens smilingly to the rude love-plaints of her uncouth adorer; a joyous train of nymphs and tritons throngs about her, a cupid has seized the reins of her equipage, while his fellows are poised in the air with arrows menacingly aimed (Fig. 92). The cheerful sensuousness of Greek antiquity is recalled to life in this picture, with the wondrous poetical charm which it diffuses. Raphael painted it with his own hand; it must have been a true refreshment for him, in the midst of the serious paintings in the Vatican apartments, to employ his

Fig. 93. STUDY OF THE FIGURE AND DRAPERY OF AN ANGEL IN THE PICTURE OF THE SIBYLS.
Red chalk drawing in the Albertina, Vienna.

imagination on these pleasant and charming forms. But Chigi, too, had a serious task in store for him. He gave him a commission to paint a fresco over the entrance of a side-chapel in the church of Santa Maria della Pace, to represent the Prophets and Sibyls. In the execution of this work the master was assisted by his fellow-townsmen Timoteo Viti. To him it is usual to ascribe the Prophets, who occupy an arched space above the Sibyls. The Sibyls, however, are peculiarly Raphael's own creation, even if Timoteo Viti may have had a hand in their execution (Fig. 93). Only one of the four prophetesses, who are here united in a group, is represented as in old age, the rest are in the flower of youth; they possess nothing of the Titanic, primeval force of the Sibyls of Michelangelo, but instead of that they are adorned with the fulness of beauty. Angels with mighty pinions bring to the God-inspired women the predictions of the future; but, besides these, three smaller inhabitants of heaven have found a place, the central one of

Fig. 96. STUDIES FOR THE ANGEL OF THE CRYSTAL-
GLOBE, AND FOR A SIBYL. Albertina, Vienna.

whom holds the torch of light, and their merry childish smiles form a delightful contrast to the sublime seriousness of the other forms. The picture is composed in a masterly manner to fill the peculiar space with a symmetry which is carried through the whole and withal broken again. Originally

Fig. 97. THE MIRACULOUS DRAGGIFT OF FISHES. Cartoon in the South Kensington Museum.



Raphael intended to maintain the balance of the two halves more strictly; this is betrayed by a precious study in the Oxford Gallery (Fig. 94); instead of the one Sibyl in the picture who raises herself and fixes her gaze from afar on the revelation accorded to her, thus producing a break in the outline with excellent effect, we see here a figure clinging with a similar

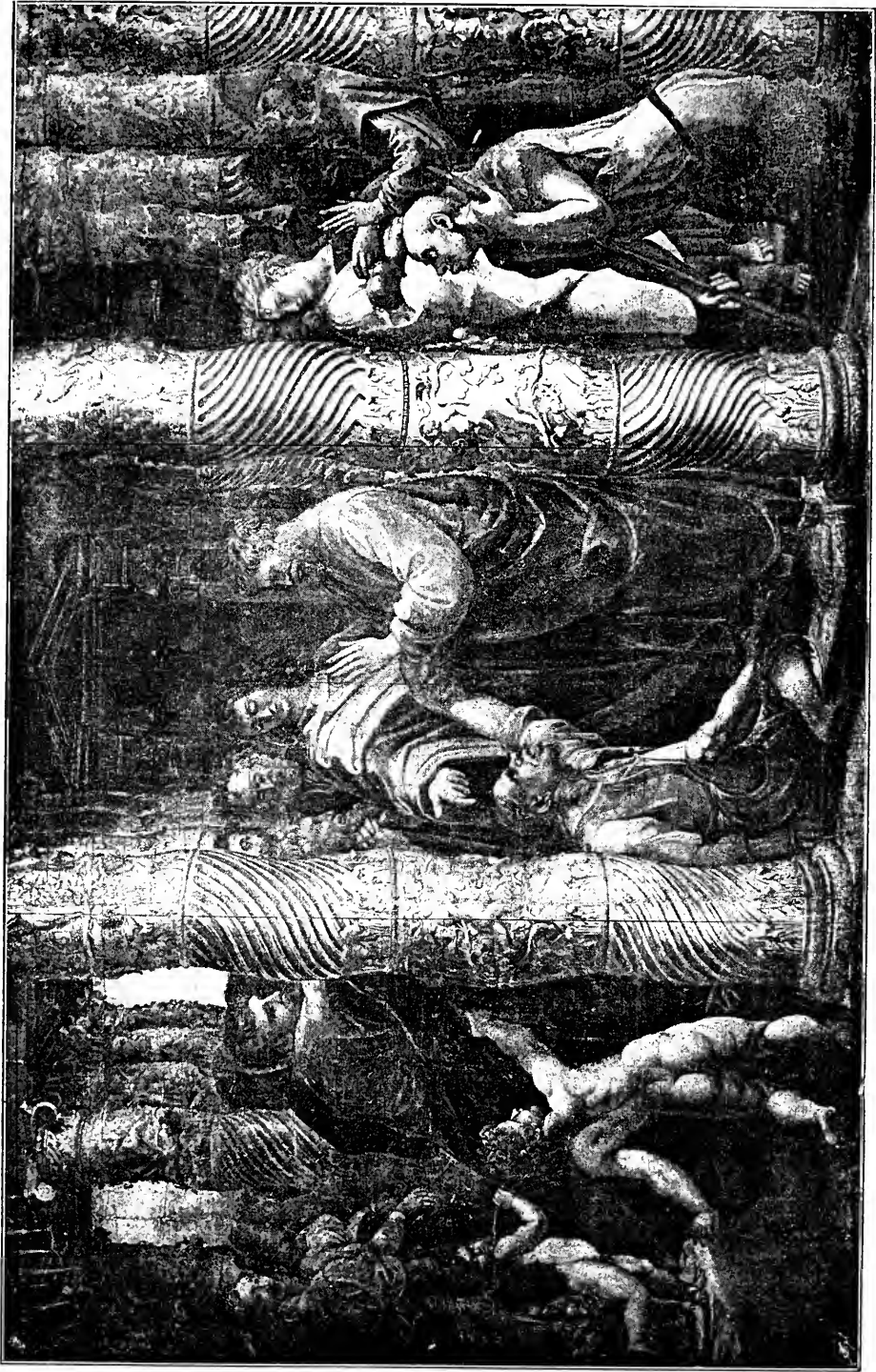


Fig. 98. THE HEALING OF THE CRIPPLE BY PETER AND JOHN. Cartoon in the South Kensington Museum.



Fig. 99. CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS (Lo Spasimo di Sicilia). In the Madrid Gallery.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

movement to that of the corresponding Sibyl on the other side to the curve of the arch. A study in the Albertina for one of the angels flying down (Fig. 95) instructs us as to the conscientious attention which the master paid to the structure of the body under the fluttering drapery; he has devoted peculiar care to the study of the arm which is left exposed, but, not yet contented with the result, he has drawn both arms of the angel, together with the upraised arm of the Sibyl who sits below, again with the most delicate finish, from a feminine model, on a sheet of studies in the same collection (Fig. 96).

Fig. 100. STUDY FROM NATURE FOR THE GROUP OF WOMEN IN THE PICTURE OF CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS.
Drawing in the Lille Museum.

Chigi further entrusted Raphael with the preparation of the designs for a chapel to be erected in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo. The master made the drawings for the architecture and the cartoons for the decorative subjects of the cupola, which were carried out in mosaic by Luigi da Pace of Venice in the year 1516. The creation of the stars is represented; in the centre of the cupola we see the Creator, who floats in space, surrounded by angels, and with mighty, outstretched arms calls the lights of heaven into being; in the eight compartments into which the vaulting is divided, appear eight magnificent angelic forms, the guardian spirits of the stars; the first of these looks up and lays his hands on the sphere with the fixed stars; beneath the remainder the divinities of the seven planets rise from nothing at the beck of the Almighty. Raphael also provided for the plastic decoration of the Chigi chapel; he designed two figures, the prophets Elijah and Jonah, which were carried out in marble by the Florentine Lorenzetto. The wide-spread assumption that Raphael himself chiselled the statue of Jonah in marble, is quite unfounded. It is quite conceivable, however, that he may himself have prepared a clay model for this splendid youth, who triumphs like an ancient hero over the fish which has cast him up, for it is a known fact that Raphael made experiments in the sculptor's art in this very year, 1516; an otherwise unknown sculptor, Pietro d'Ancona, carried out a figure of a child in marble from Raphael's clay model. In all probability we have rediscovered this piece of sculpture by Raphael in the charming group of a dead boy carried by a dolphin, of which Raphael Mengs brought the first plaster cast to Germany in the last century; the original, in marble, is at St. Petersburg.



Fig. 101. St. Cecilia. In the Academy at Bologna.

Meanwhile, however, the Pope had again approached the master with new commissions. To cover the lower part of the walls in the Sistine



Fig. 102. THE VISION OF EZEKIEL. In the Pitti Palace, Florence.

Chapel costly tapestries were to be woven in Flanders, and no less a person than Raphael was to carry out the preliminary cartoons. The whole history of the redemption, from the creation of the world, was related in frescoes



Fig. 103. THE LADY WITH THE VEIL. Portrait of a lady unknown, who has been supposed to be the model for the Sistine Madonna. In the Pitti Palace, Florence.

on the roof and walls of the chapel; the tapestries were to contain the Acts of the Apostles, and so bring the whole series of biblical pictures to a close. In the years 1515 and 1516 Raphael carried out the cartoons for the tapestries and in doing so, in spite of his occupation at the same time with so many other great subjects, created one of his most immortal works. The tapestries were woven in Brussels in the looms of Master Peter van Aelst, and that in so short a time that the magnificent organisation



Fig. 104. MADONNA DI SAN SISTO. In the Royal Picture Gallery, Dresden.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)



of this workshop seems to us today quite inconceivable; on St. Stephen's day in the year 1519 seven of the hangings were adorning the place for which they were destined, and excited the amazement and delight of all who saw them; in the next year the three which were still wanting were added. In the course of ages these splendid fabrics have been hardly used; they have their own eventful history, which begins with their being pledged in the year 1521. They were twice carried away from Rome, in 1527 as plunder by the Landsknechts, and in 1798 by French dealers, who bought them at auction; at last they have once more found shelter in the Vatican, but in a condition which no longer admits of their being used to decorate the Sistine chapel. Raphael's cartoons were copied more than once on the loom, but even the better preserved repetitions, like those in the Berlin Museum, give only a feeble idea of Raphael's creations. We should not be able to prize this masterpiece of the master himself highly enough, had not a kindly destiny preserved seven of the original cartoons painted in distemper on sheets of paper stuck together; after many wanderings they have found a dignified place of public exhibition in the South Kensington Museum. There is nothing more perfect in the way of clear and vivid narration, thoroughly popular and at the same time of the highest artistic quality, than these seven pictures from the history of the apostles, in which the founders of the Christian church meet us with strongly marked characters and forms of convincing truth. Raphael depicts the events with a simplicity and force of expression comparable only to the words of scripture. The series of subjects opens with Peter's miraculous draught of fishes (Fig. 97); all the charm of a cool morning by the water is diffused over the grand picture. The second subject is the calling of Peter; in superhuman beauty the Risen Lord stands on the shore of the Lake of Tiberias opposite to the men of the people who are to carry his teaching over all the world, and says to the kneeling Peter: "Feed my sheep." Then we see Peter accompanied by John at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple bidding the lame beggar arise (Fig. 98); and, further, Ananias struck by the divine judgment on the stern utterance of the Prince of the Apostles, so that the sight thrills the bystanders with horror. Almost more impressive is the next subject, the sorcerer Elymas deprived of his sight before the tribunal of the Roman governor at the powerful bidding of Paul, and groping about helplessly in the darkness which has suddenly overtaken him. The next picture takes us to Lystra; we see the pagan sacrificial procession, copied with archaeological exactness from antique representations, halting before Paul and Barnabas, we see the lame man whom they have cured pressing up with the procession and lifting his hands in grateful prayer to the Apostles, and Paul, whose mighty form balances the whole company, rending his raiment with averted head: "Sirs, why do ye these things?" The sacrificial axe is already raised to fell the wreathed ox, the sacrifice would be consummated in a moment, were it not that a handsome youth who had understood the Apostle's words, pressed forward hastily and prevented the

deed. The last picture shows us Paul at Athens, where the man of God lifts his voice on the Areopagus in presence of the assembly of trained thinkers; his pithy words find attentive listeners, but some, too, who shake their heads and mock at him, as well as some who draw nigh in faith. Although the hands of pupils have been employed on these cartoons in translating them into colour, yet Raphael's invention is revealed with full force in every slightest line. A piece of tapestry with the coronation of the Virgin, which was only rediscovered some thirty years ago in the Vatican, is founded likewise on a design of Raphael's. The master's power of working seems to us quite incomprehensible when we learn that in the same years, to say nothing of the drawings which he furnished to Marcantonio for engraving, he painted a number of pictures in oils, and among them some which held the loftiest places of honour among his grandest achievements.

For the Convent of Santa Maria dello Spasimo at Palermo he painted Christ bearing the Cross (Fig. 99). It is true that he took as the basis of his composition the corresponding woodcut in Dürer's Great Passion, from which he almost exactly borrowed the figure of Christ bowed down by the burden of the cross; but he put his own sensibility into it, and made the new version of the subject quite his own intellectual property; the group of the fainting Virgin Mother and her women, in particular, is quite independent of the Northern pattern (Fig. 100). The painting has undergone curious vicissitudes; the ship, on which it was to have been brought to Sicily, went down; the case containing the picture, however, came ashore and arrived at Genoa; the news of the picture being fished up was soon noised abroad, but it was only on the interference of the Pope that the Genoese surrendered the treasure to the monks of Palermo; when hung in its destined place the picture, in the words of Vasari, "acquired more reputation and celebrity than the mountain of Vulcan." In the 17th century Philip IV. purchased the picture secretly from the monks and had it brought to Spain; it is now in the Museum at Madrid.

The actual handiwork of Raphael in the painting of the Bearing of the Cross seems doubtful, because the colouring contains bright and hard passages which spoil the impression which the powerful composition produces. But there is no doubt of it in the case of the jewel of the collection of pictures in the Academy at Bologna, the "St. Cecilia" (Fig. 101). The picture was ordered as early as 1513 as altar-piece for a chapel in the church of San Giovanni in Monte at Bologna, but the master did not proceed to carry it out till 1516. It is an incomparable poem on the charm of music. In the centre of the picture stands Cecilia, a virginal figure of gracious beauty, with the organ in her hands, enchanted by the notes given out by a choir of angels in the air; four Saints surround her, Paul, John the Evangelist, Augustine and Mary Magdalene, each of whom is listening in his own way to the celestial notes — a perfect study of character; profane musical instruments — these were carried out by Raphael's gifted pupil Giovanni da Udine (born 1487) who was a master of the careful rendering



Fig. 105. POPE LEO X. Pitti Palace, Florence.



Fig. 106. JOANNA OF ARAGON. In the Louvre, Paris.

(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

of nature in small things — lie broken on the ground. In the colouring the picture is music itself.

It was also for a Bolognese patron that Raphael designed a small picture in which he reduced a gigantic creation to the proportions of a miniature: the so-called Vision of Ezekiel (Fig. 102), now in the Pitti Palace. Between the wings of the four living creatures which have passed from time immemorial in Christian art as the symbols of the Four Evangelists, Jehovah soars in space and with uplifted arms, supported by ministering

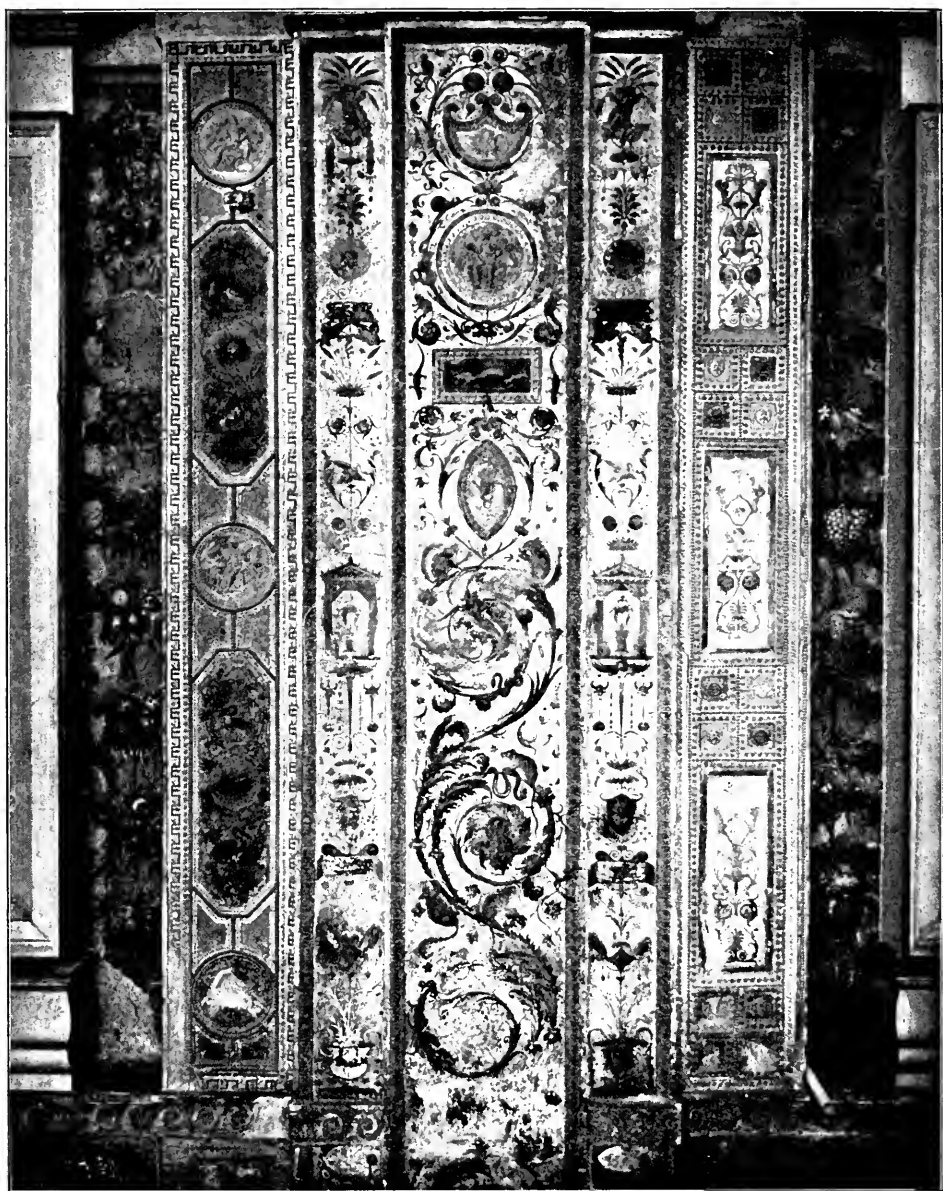


Fig. 107. A PILASTER in the Loggia of the Vatican.

angels, spreads his hands in blessing over the earth, which is visible in the distance far below.

To the same period of the master's greatest productive energy belongs undoubtedly that picture which, perhaps more than any other of his works, enables the modern spectator to experience the full power of art, the Sistine Madonna (Fig. 104). Vasari relates in a few words how "for the black monks (Benedictines) of San Sisto at Piacenza he painted the picture



Fig. 108. A PORTION OF THE GROTESQUES in the pilaster reproduced in Fig. 107.

for the high-altar, in which is Our Lady with St. Sixtus and St. Barbara, truly a rare and matchless work." The picture, which was painted by Raphael with his own hand from first to last, stood till 1753 in the place for which it was intended, then it was acquired for King Augustus III. and conveyed to Dresden. There it was far from finding unanimous approval from the first; the connoisseurs of the last century were doubtful whether the picture was really worthy of the great Raphael. Such are the changes of opinion with regard to art in the course of time. To-day probably no one can stand unmoved before this creation, the character of which cannot

be expressed in words, which transports the gaze to another world released from all that is earthly, and constrains the beholder to a reverential silence. If ever a countenance has been painted which is completely transfigured by an unearthly radiance, it is that of the mother of the Redeemer in the San Sisto picture. And yet there is a woman's portrait of quite a wordly kind, which shows a certain likeness to this same countenance, so that it has given rise to the conjecture that in this portrait we are made acquainted with the lady whose features were present in Raphael's mind when he created it. This is the so-called Lady with the Veil "*Donna Velata*" (Fig. 103) in the Pitti Gallery, an excellent portrait, the attribution of which to Raphael, however, lacks not only proof but even probability, so that the conjecture is quite without foundation. The resemblance of this fair Roman with the large, dark eyes to the Sistine Madonna is at any rate only a distant one.

Connected with the assumption that the "*Donna Velata*" is by Raphael, is an equally unfounded idea that she betrays to us the features of Raphael's mistress, of whom Vasari speaks repeatedly, and whose portrait he mentions especially among the master's portraits of ladies. This mistress, whose name is never stated, has been an object of piquant curiosity to posterity, which does not care to content itself with knowing nothing of great men except their great works; legend has even busied itself with inventing a name for her, *La Fornarina*, the baker's daughter. This title has remained attached to the likeness of an unveiled girl with unattractive features, who wears an amulet with the name of Raphael; this picture has passed for ages as the portrait of a mistress of the painter, and was copied as such repeatedly in the 16th century itself; the original is in the Barberini palace at Rome. Raphael painted finer portraits than this. Under Julius II. this branch of his activity had remained somewhat in abeyance; at least we hear of only two portraits besides that of the Pope himself, those, namely, of the young prince Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua and the artistic Roman banker Bindo Altoviti; the former has disappeared, while the latter, which has suffered unfortunately from re-painting, is in the Munich Gallery, where it long passed as Raphael's own portrait, in consequence of an expression of Vasari which certainly seems ambiguous: "For Bindo Altoviti he painted his portrait when he was young." But under Leo X. portrait-painting became an important part of Raphael's work. Thus he painted amongst others the brother and nephew of the Pope, Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, the papal secretary and librarian, Tommaso Inghirami, who was equally admired as poet and as preacher, the singer and poet Antonio Tebaldeo, another illustrious poet who was an intimate friend of Raphael's, Count Baldassare Castiglione, and the clever statesman Cardinal Bibbiena (Bernardo Dovizio). Some of these portraits are lost, others are only extant in old copies or versions of which the originality appears dubious; at any rate sufficient is preserved to allow us to admire Raphael as one of the greatest artists of all times, in portrait-painting as in other things. The portrait of Count Castiglione in the Louvre is indisputably the work of Raphael's



Fig. 109. DECORATION IN STUCCO AND FRESCO painting over a window in the Loggie of the Vatican.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

own hand. Next to this accomplished and affectionate friend of the master we are most interested in making the acquaintance of his special patron Cardinal Bibbiena (in the Pitti Palace). Raphael was actually betrothed to the Cardinal's niece, if Vasari's information is correct, but the marriage never took place; the Cardinal's hat which the Pope led him to expect must have appeared to the master more seductive than the bond of matrimony. A work of some magnitude which Raphael undertook for Bibbiena in the year 1516 was the decoration of a bathroom in the Vatican (now inaccessible) with wall-paintings in antique style. The conclusion and crown of Raphael's portraits is that of Pope Leo himself, in which by the side of the Pope, who sits at a table with a lens in his hand to look at the miniatures of a manuscript which lies open before him, two cardinals are also represented, Giulio de' Medici (afterwards Pope Clement VII.) and Lodovico de' Rossi, the latter Leo's nephew and the former his cousin (Fig. 105). Of this magnificent picture there are two versions, one in the Pitti Palace, the other in the Naples Museum. We must not be surprised if the question as to which is the genuine picture can hardly be decided at the present day; the copy was carried out in the year 1525 by Andrea del Sarto, and this skilful painter succeeded so perfectly that Giulio Romano



Fig. 110. THE CREATION OF EVE. Painting in a cupola of the Loggie of the Vatican.

himself, who had assisted Raphael with the picture, is said to have been taken in. The last portrait which proceeded from Raphael's studio was that of the beautiful Joanna of Aragon, the wife of the constable of Naples (Fig. 106). Cardinal Bibbiena bespoke it as a present for the King of France, to whom he went as ambassador in 1518; Raphael himself had no time to go to Naples to take the portrait of the princess. He sent one of his pupils to draw a sketch for the likeness, and the picture, now in the Louvre, with its splendid colouring was then carried out from this drawing. According to Vasari's testimony Raphael painted only the head, while the rest is by Giulio Romano.

From the year 1517 onward Raphael hardly ever managed to carry out anything with his own hand; when once he had begun to paint a picture he was obliged very soon to leave it alone, on account of new commissions. There was no question now of his practising fresco-painting any longer in person, but under his supervision two more marvels of wall-painting were produced, the Loggie of the Vatican and the Story of Psyche in Chigi's villa.

In Part of the Vatican Palace every storey opens on a court-yard by means of galleries (loggie) constructed on Bramante's and partly on Raphael's own designs. That part of the Loggie on the second storey which forms the approach to the Stanze, Leo X. wished to see decorated in such a manner as to be a worthy introduction to the artistic splendour of those apartments. Perhaps at the same time as the order for the cartoons for the tapestries, Raphael received the commission to decorate this gallery. The task indeed was quite a different one from that which he had had in



Fig. 111. THE FALL. Painting in a cupola of the Loggie of the Vatican.

the inner apartments; for those who walked here, in the open air and yet protected from the glowing sun, art was to offer merely a cheerful play of form and colour which should occupy the mind without fatiguing it and delight the eye together with the incomparable prospect over the Eternal City, the Campagna and the distant mountains. Here Raphael has produced a work which has not its equal. Only we no longer receive the complete impression of it on the spot; wind and weather have used the frescoes very badly, so that in the present century the arches had to be covered in by glass windows, to rescue at least what was left of them; unfortunately the rough usage of visitors has also contributed to the ill treatment of the remains. Fortunately there is no lack of good old engravings which serve to complete the picture of the whole work. Antique art served as a foundation for it. Some well-preserved specimens of ancient wall-decoration in stucco and painting had recently been discovered in the ruins of the Baths of Titus. These charming forms traced in the wanton roving of the fancy — grotesques, as they were called, because they had only been preserved in subterranean vaults (*grotte*)—gave the pattern for the decoration of the Loggie, not that they were simply copied outright, but the artistic frame of mind which had produced them was revived once more in full vigour. Details perhaps were borrowed immediately from the antique motives; it was just at that time that Raphael was devoting his keenest attention to the remnants of antique art, and he sent his pupils to them, when his own time failed, in order to prepare suitable designs, while throughout Italy and even in Greece he kept draughtsmen employed

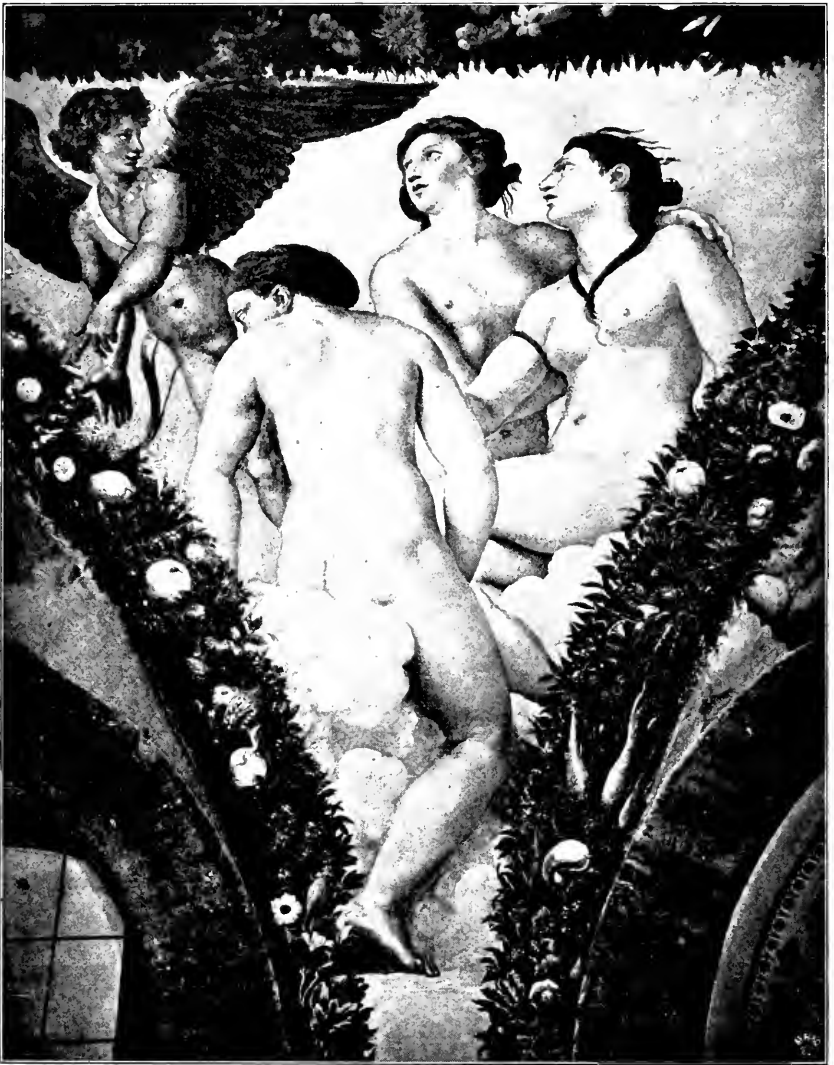


Fig. 112. From the fable of *Psyche*: *CUPID AND THE GRACES*. Painting in the ceiling of the Villa Farnesina at Rome. The back of the foremost of the "Graces" is one of the few places in these paintings which escaped the late restoration.

in copying the antique. But the most part was planned anew in the spirit and taste of the old Roman decorative art. The grotesques climb up the pillars and arches (Figs. 107 and 108) with a delicate lightness and a variety of shapes of which it would be a fruitless effort to convey even an approximate idea by means of words. The colours form a tracery of more connected design on the surface of the wall which contains the windows and doors of the papal apartments, opposite to the arched openings (Fig. 109), and on the domed vaultings of the roof of the Loggie: in every dome four pictures are arranged as part of the decoration, which derive their



Fig. 113. From the fable of *Psyche*: *VENUS BEFORE JUPITER*. Painting in the ceiling of the Villa Farnesina at Rome. The figure of Venus is seriously spoilt by repainting, especially in the outlines.

subjects not from the wanton world of the ancient Gods but, to suit the dignity of the apostolical palace, from the biblical narrative. Raphael placed the execution of the grotesques and plasterwork under the direction of Giovanni da Udine, that of the pictures under the supervision of Giulio Romano.

Besides these two there was a whole troop of Raphael's pupils employed on the work, which the omnipresent mind of the master invested with a bond of unity. In details every one followed his own inspiration; especially in the little stucco designs which are everywhere interwoven with the arabesques, each man set down just what occurred to him. We find free imitations of antique statues and reliefs, of compositions by Raphael and



Fig. 114. From the fable of *Psyche*: *MERCURY AND PSYCHE*. Painting in the ceiling of the Villa Farnesina at Rome.

Michelangelo, and scenes freshly drawn from life, we even have glimpses of the occupation of the artists themselves; there sits the master, drawing industriously; a colour-grinder prepares the pigments; a mason lays on the fresh plaster and by his side a young painter scratches in the outlines on the ground so laid, another paints, a third brings up a cartoon to fasten it to the wall, a fourth is employed in perforating the outlines of another cartoon with a needle, while an old attendant arranges the jars of paint.

The fifty-two pictures in the thirteen domes of the Loggia are usually known by the collective name of "Raphael's Bible". They begin with the Creation and end with the Last Supper; only four belong to the New



Fig. 115. STUDY FOR VENUS AND PSYCHE in the Villa Farnesina.
Drawing in the Louvre, Paris.

Testament, all the rest to the Old. According to Vasari they are all based on designs by Raphael; but in the latter part of the work these designs can, at the most, have consisted merely of slight sketches, while in the earlier part, at any rate, Raphael's original invention speaks to us with its whole force and attractiveness. But even the least valuable of these pictures fulfil excellently their immediate, decorative purpose of interrupting the light play of ornament with strong, full harmonies of colour, and of forming an agreeable spot for the eye to rest on. The subjects in the first dome are evidently influenced by a prototype of overwhelming power, Michelangelo's paintings of the Creation in the Sistine Chapel, and at least one of them, the parting of light from darkness at the fiat of God, is scarcely inferior to its great predecessor, in spite of its small proportions. Most attractive of all, perhaps, is the second dome, which tells the story of our first parents; in a Paradise of enchanting beauty the Lord presents his



Fig. 116. ST. MICHAEL. Drawing from the picture of 1518, in the Louvre.



Fig. 117. *The Lament over the Dead Christ*. — In the Louvre, Paris.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clement & Co., Dornach, Alsace, and Paris.)

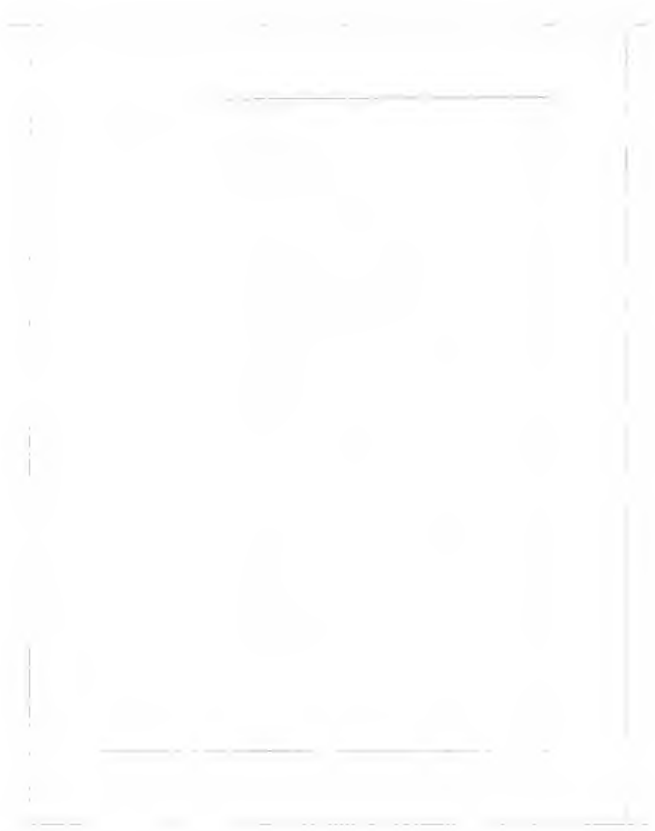


Fig. 118. STUDY FROM NATURE for the figure of the Virgin in the Large Holy Family in the Louvre. The Louvre.

consort to Adam, who awakes in amazement from his slumber (Fig. 110); then Eve offers to her husband the forbidden fruit (Fig. 111) — a comparison with the painting on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura teaches us how variously in conception, yet with what an equal degree of beauty, Raphael could treat the very same subject — the angel with the sword drives them after the Fall into the rough world, where a raging storm, which bends and cracks strong trees, forms a contrast in landscape to the calm Paradise; but the earth, too, is beautiful in Raphael's eyes, as we see in the fourth picture of this dome by the happy smile with which Eve greets her merry children and by the sunny amenity of the landscape in which Adam tills the field. The point in which these paintings stand unrivalled, almost without exception, is the terse clearness with which they tell their story to the eye; in this respect they are patterns, the value of which is not diminished by their unequal, and not always exemplary, execution.

The Loggie of the Vatican were still unfinished, when Chigi recalled the master to the world of antique mythology. The problem now was the decoration of the large loggia on the ground-floor of Chigi's villa in Traste-




Fig. 119. STUDY OF DRAPERY for the Virgin in the Large Holy Family in the Louvre.
Uffizi Collection, Florence.

vere. Apuleius' story of Cupid and Psyche furnished the subject material. But how infinitely more poetical is Raphael's conception of the subject than that of the late Roman author, whose narrative is a mere profanation of the beautiful myth of the Soul and Love. The master has adapted his paintings with extreme skill to the different shapes of the surface of the vaulting,

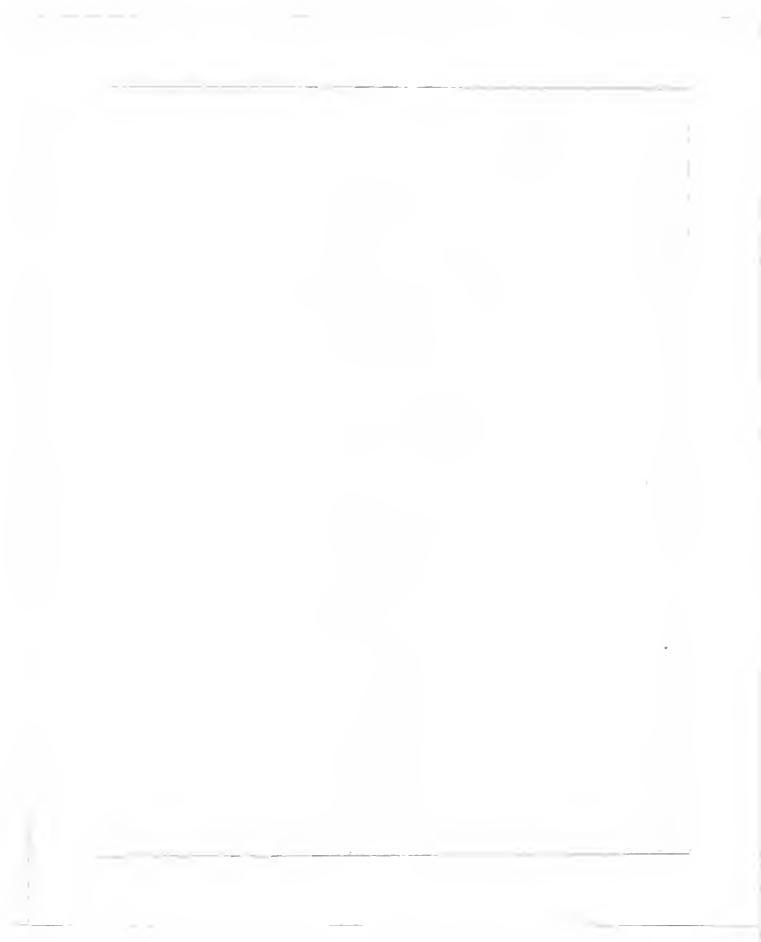


Fig. 120. STUDY FROM NATURE for the Infant Jesus in the Large Holy Family in the Louvre. Uffizi Collection, Florence.

to which the decoration was confined. He had to deal with fourteen pointed lunettes which start from the semicircular arches of the open arcade and the corresponding spaces on the wall, and cut into the vaulting, ten pendentives running to a point at the bottom, in which the vaulting descends to the pillars and pilasters, and lastly a long rectangular space in the middle. Raphael framed these spaces with garlands of flowers and fruit, dividing the central space into two halves, and filled the surfaces with life-sized figures on a sky-blue ground. In the pendentives the narrative begins with the subject of Venus sending her son down to earth to punish Psyche for her beauty, without foreseeing that Cupid would experience her power in his own person; as he flies past, Cupid tells the Graces of the beautiful mark at which his darts are to be aimed (Fig. 112). The events which take place on earth, according to the story, the union of Cupid and Psyche and her loss of happiness through breaking the commandment that she



Fig. 121. HOLY FAMILY, known as La Perla. In the Prado Gallery, Madrid.
(After an original photograph by J. Laurent & Cie., Madrid)

must not enquire into the nature of her lover, are not represented in the painting, for the scene is confined to Olympus. We see Venus disconsolately turning away from Juno and Ceres, who cannot give her counsel and help; we see her passing through the heights of heaven in her chariot drawn by doves to invoke the assistance of Jupiter to punish Psyche; we see her approaching the father of the Gods with cajoling prayers (Fig. 113); thereupon Mercury takes wing to earth, to seek for Psyche and deliver her up to the vengeance of the goddess. How Psyche has performed the last and severest task of her probation and fetched for Venus a casket from the lower world, how she offers it, kneeling in all humility to the surprised goddess, is shown in the next picture. And now Cupid intercedes with Jupiter for mercy for his beloved, and receives his assurance in an affectionate kiss; thereupon Psyche, escorted by Mercury, soars upwards to heaven (Fig. 114). In the first of the large pictures with numerous figures in the central compartment of the ceiling, we see Jupiter appeasing the strife between Venus and Cupid in a solemn assembly of the gods, while Psyche receives the draught of immortality; in the second the gods are celebrating at a festal banquet the nuptials of Cupid and Psyche. So Raphael tells the story; but in the lunettes he lets little cupids fly about, who have stolen the god's arms and emblems of rank, and so put to the spectator the question of the Greek poet:

When Cupid makes immortal arms his spoil,
Can mortals hope the roguish God to foil?

The precious paintings were unfortunately restored in a merciless way towards the end of the 17th century; the fine outlines of the figures especially have suffered severely in places in the process, and the sunny sky-blue of the background has been turned to a heavy, confused blue daub. If, even after this, the work possesses a wonderful charm, that is perhaps the most brilliant testimony to the imperishable power of the artist's design. The figure of one of the Graces who turns her back to the spectator has remained untouched by re-painting; this splendidly painted back passes for the work of Raphael's own hand. Vasari relates somewhere that the master painted a number of figures in these frescoes with his own hand; otherwise the execution of the pictures was entrusted to Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni (whose relationship to Raphael obtained for him the sobriquet of *il fattore*, or the agent); the magnificent wreaths of flowers and fruit were painted by Giovanni da Udine. That Raphael made elaborate drawings in preparation for all the pictures cannot be doubted; no one else could have displayed such invention and such mastery of form. Of the studies for the ceiling-paintings which are extant only a few, it is true, are by the master's own hand (Fig. 115); in addition to the studies there are a number of drawings done from the cartoons, such as the younger pupils were wont to do for practice, and these too have their value for us, since they partly bring the original beauty of the forms before our eyes at less disadvantage than the re-painted frescoes themselves.



Fig. 122. The Vistratos, in the Prado Gallery, Madrid.
(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris)

The paintings in Chigi's villa and in the Loggie of the Vatican were not yet finished when the year 1519 began. We find Raphael in a state of feverish activity. The Pope, who had placed in his hands everything that was to be done at the Vatican in the way of painting and architecture after the completion of the Loggie, approached him daily with new projects; at one time he was to draw cartoons for frescoes in the chapel of the hunting-lodge, La Magliana, in the Campagna, at another to prepare designs for tarsia-work, or dies for the coinage, or else to plan the decorations for carnival festivities at the Vatican, whilst a large hall adjoining the Stanze was being prepared to receive wall-paintings. All the time he was being urgently pressed by the representatives of foreign princes, who wished to have pictures by him for their masters; they would not be deterred by a refusal of admittance at the door of his studio; to keep them quiet Raphael would make a few strokes with the brush before their eyes on the pictures which they had ordered, and then the pictures so begun would be laid aside to make room for new ones, which were soon to share the same fate. The master, so gay and so amiable of yore, began to acquire a reputation for moroseness. If we review the number of oil-paintings, some of them of considerable dimensions, which Raphael produced after 1517, in addition to the rest of his arduous occupations,—to say nothing of the doubtful works—we can understand that he must have been galled by the excess of work, in spite of the help which his well-trained pupils, especially Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni, who lived with him, were able to afford. Not everyone who ordered a picture was so patient as the nuns of Monteluca near Perugia, who reminded him in the year 1516 of the picture of the Coronation of the Virgin which they had commissioned eleven years before; they succeeded then in getting Raphael to sketch out the composition, and yet they had to wait again till long after the master's death before his pupils finished the picture now in the Vatican Gallery. The most important thing was to keep the Pope satisfied; he had ordered two pictures as presents for the King and Queen of France, the Archangel Michael and a Holy Family. Leo X. was eager to see them delivered, and he was continually urging the artist to hasten with his task, till in the spring of 1518 the pictures were packed on mules and conveyed to Fontainebleau under the escort of one of Raphael's pupils. Both pictures are now in the Louvre. St. Michael is represented as a handsome youth in antique armour but without a helmet, who swoops down on great pinions to thrust his uplifted spear at Satan, who has already fallen to the ground beneath him; the savage, dark-hued form of the demon and the gloomy rocks, from clefts in which tongues of flame dart forth, form a strong contrast to the radiant form of the angel (Fig. 116). The large Holy Family of the Louvre, as the picture presented by the Pope to the Queen is called, to distinguish it from another smaller Holy Family, also in the Louvre, ("The Virgin with the cradle"), composed by Raphael but painted entirely by the hands of a pupil, shows a Virgin whose countenance rivals the



Fig. 123. CENTRAL GROUP FROM THE BATTLE OF CONSTANTINE. Wall-painting in the Vatican, from a design by Raphael.

Florentine Madonnas in tender, maidenly majesty, and an infant Jesus, who springs out of the cradle and throws himself gladly into his mother's arms; the child is as childlike as any Raphael ever invented, but his divine majesty is indicated by the homage which is offered to him; not only does Elizabeth kneel and teach the little St. John to fold his tiny hands in prayer to his fellow-child, but angels have come down into the small room, to offer worship and to strew flowers before him (Fig. 117). A powerful effect of chiaroscuro corresponds to the majestic forms of the closely-packed composition. The

picturesque effect of the painting is determined rather by sharp distinctions of light and shade than by the local colours of the different objects. One can hardly imagine a greater contrast of colour-schemes than exists between this picture and "*La belle Jardinière*", which is in the same room. Even contemporaries disapproved of Raphael's practice of making the shadows too black in his latest pictures, and the course of time has proved the pernicious effect of the use of a peculiar black pigment, which has turned still darker and has penetrated the other colours. In painting the large Holy Family Raphael was assisted by Giulio Romano, to whom the execution of a "*St. Margaret*" was almost entirely left, which, according to Vasari, was sent about the same time to Fontainebleau as a gift to the French royal family (now in the Louvre). How diligently Raphael even now consulted nature, is proved by three sheets of studies for the large Holy Family: the Louvre collection possesses the study from life of a maiden lightly clad for the figure of the Virgin (Fig. 118); in the Uffizi we find the carefully finished study of drapery for the same figure which was employed almost exactly in the picture (Fig. 119), and the precious study from a model for the infant Christ (Fig. 120).

To Raphael's latest pictures of the Madonna belongs further the famous large picture at Madrid, which Philip IV. described as the pearl of his collection, so that it has retained the name of "*la perla*" ever since. It owes its existence to a commission from the Count of Canossa at Verona. It is a true picture of family life; Mary has laid one arm round the neck of her mother Anne, who is lost in serious thought, with the other hand she holds the child, who has climbed from the cradle on to her knee, and lays hold smilingly of the fruit which the little St. John has brought to him (Fig. 121). Raphael has here pushed the strong effect of chiaroscuro to the furthest extreme; the lights stand out harshly against deep darkness. The picture possesses, so to speak, no scheme of colour at all, and so it lacks that quality of art by which painting is able to appeal most directly to the mind. Yet it is certainly a work of the master's own hand. It owes its old reputation perhaps chiefly to the extraordinary carefulness of its execution, which is doubly remarkable considering the time at which it was produced. At Madrid, too, is a "*Visitation of the Virgin*" in life-sized figures, which Raphael made for the papal chamberlain, Branconio d'Aquila, the same patron for whom he designed a palace at Rome (Fig. 122). Here, too, the poetry with which the meeting of the two women, the elderly Elizabeth and the girlish Mary, is depicted, loses much of its effect on the spectator through the want of charm in the colour, which destroys the unity of tone by harsh contrasts of light and shade. For Cardinal Colonna the master painted the inspired youthful form of John the Forerunner (now in the Tribune at Florence), a picture which was repeatedly copied, owing to the novelty of the treatment of the subject.

The weighty forms, the large outlines, the strong contrasts of light and dark, which we observe in all these pictures, seem to tell of the state

Fig. 124. STUDY FROM THE NUDE FOR THE PICTURE OF THE TRANSEIGURATION IN THE VATICAN.
Collection of the Ambrosiana, Milan.

of mental excitement in which the master created them during his struggle with fleeting time. It is perhaps not hard to explain how Raphael lost that fineness of feeling which is able to give rise to poetical harmonies of colour in the feverish stress of work which wore out his strength. The fourth of the Vatican apartments, in which he was to conduct the painting, promised him an opportunity of exerting himself in representations of passion and violent movement. The life of Constantine was to be depicted here, with the victory over Maxentius as the chief event (Fig. 123). It is true that the cartoon for this battle-piece, fragments of which are extant, was not made by the master himself; but he drew separate studies for the



Fig. 125. STUDY IN NUDE FIGURES FOR THE PICTURE OF THE TRANSFIGURATION (the work of a pupil).
In the Albertina, Vienna.

picture and doubtless also prepared a general design, for only this hypothesis can explain the fact that the painting, which was not carried out till several years after Raphael's death, possesses the fulness of life and the magnificent strength, which make it, in spite of its defects, an unsurpassed pattern

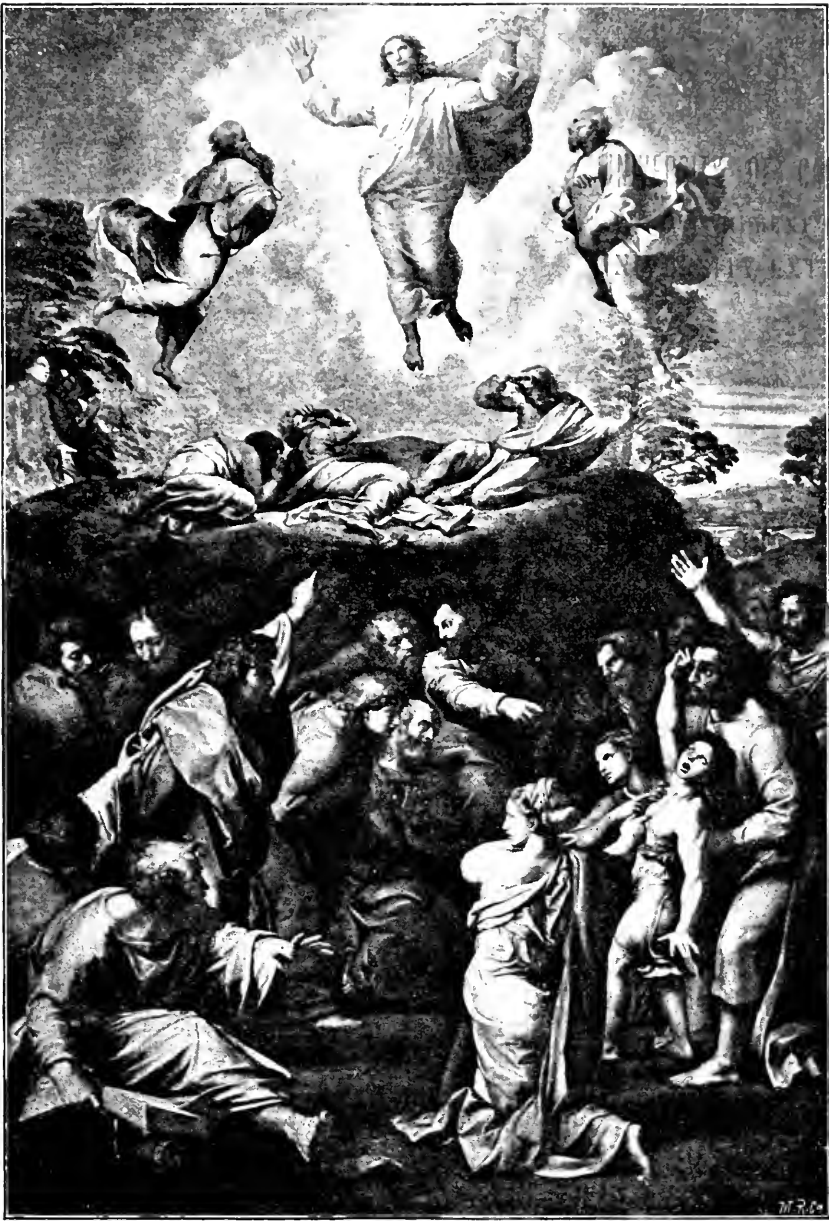


Fig. 120. THE TRANSFIGURATION OF CHRIST ON MOUNT TABOR. In the Vatican Picture Gallery. Raphael's last picture.

(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)

for the representation of a violent heroic conflict. It is certain, too, that the masterly distribution of the wall-spaces in the Hall of Constantine is due to Raphael: the arrangement by which the historical subjects with their numerous figures alternate with magnificent architectural designs in which the giant forms of famous popes are enthroned. It is in keeping

with the straining after powerful effect which characterised the master at this time, that the experiment was made of substituting oils for fresco-painting, an experiment which, in the sequel, was abandoned. Raphael hardly lived to see the beginning of the work in the Hall of Constantine; if in the battle against Maxentius we still trace an after-effect of his spirit, we perceive in the remaining pictures all too clearly how feeble Giulio Romano and his comrades were, when confronted with such tasks, so soon as they were left entirely to themselves. Such great works demanded the great master himself. His pupils inherited his spirit more successfully in purely decorative matters; at least the work in stucco which Giovanni da Udine carried out in the Villa Madama, the construction of which Giulio Romano took over after Raphael's death, is an achievement worthy to rank with the decoration of the Loggie in the Vatican; it is true that in this work an exact study of ancient models was able to replace, to a certain extent, the stimulus which had been derived from Raphael's fertile and inexhaustible fancy.

The last work to which Raphael himself set his hand was a large altar-piece which Giulio de' Medici ordered for the principal church at Narbonne, of which place he was bishop. Raphael may well have felt that the preponderance of pupils' work in the execution of his pictures would end by damaging his reputation, especially as the name of the Venetian Sebastiano (afterwards called del Piombo), a follower and friend of Michelangelo, was beginning to be named at Rome by the side of his own. And the fact that it was this very painter, a distinguished colourist, who received the Cardinal's commission for a companion picture to Raphael's, may have been another reason for determining Raphael to carry out the altar-piece, for the subject of which the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor was selected, entirely by his own hand. Of course this did not prevent the master from using the help of pupils in the more mechanical parts of the work, for instance, in transferring the drawing to a larger scale, or when it came to constructing the whole finished composition in nude figures (Fig. 125) in order to have an absolutely safe foundation for the anatomical correctness of the figures. Such work, however, was based on studies from life which he drew himself with the most extreme care, as a number of sketches of the kind which are still extant bear witness (Fig. 124). The picture never saw the place for which it was originally intended; after Raphael's death it was thought right to keep this, his last production, on the chief scene of his active career, so the picture was set up over the altar of San Pietro in Montorio at Rome; carried off to Paris as booty by the French in 1797, it has been since 1815 in the Vatican Gallery. Raphael's latest work is one of his most powerful (Fig. 126). It makes its effect on the spectator by strong contrasts. On the top of the mountain, at some distance, brilliantly lighted in the bright cloud, hovers the transfigured form of the Saviour between Moses and Elias, over the three disciples who have fallen to the ground, dazzled by the brightness. Mean-

while a scene of human misery and human weakness is being enacted at the foot of the mountain; the father of the lunatic boy, accompanied by a crowd of people, has entered the presence of the nine remaining disciples. The unfortunate man keeps a firm hold on the boy, who is convulsed with a spasm, and keeps his eyes fixed with a last glimmering of hope on the disciples of Jesus, though he is affected almost to despair by his son's sufferings; two women have thrown themselves on their knees before the apostles; one prays with gentle, mutely eloquent glances, the other, in whom we suppose that we see the boy's mother, cries passionately, almost imperiously, for help; their companions stretch out their hands in supplication. And the nine apostles stand on the other side, deeply moved, seized with compassion, but powerless to help; for he, who might have helped, has left them and is gone up on the mountain, as one of them points out to two of his comrades, who, ashamed of their feebleness, dare no longer look on the fearful spectacle; another apostle, who has risen up, announces to the suppliants with firm assurance, that he who stays on the mountain is the one who shall bring help. By this figure the dramatic tension of the scene is relieved; we know that help is there; we recognise it by the expression of certainty in the countenance and gestures of the disciple, and we see it, too, with the bodily eye; for our gaze involuntarily follows the direction of the sharp cross-line, to which the outstretched hand of this apostle gives the utmost emphasis, and fixes itself once more on the radiant form of the Saviour. "Both are one: below, the suffering, the needy; above, the active, the helpful; related, the one to the other, in mutual interaction" (Goethe). The contrast is carried through the externals of the picture too; above there is a harmonious blending of colours and lines, all floating in abundance of light; below, there are lines which cross one another roughly, harsh and conflicting colours and dark shadows. The two persons whom we observe at the side of the picture as witnesses of the transfiguration, without feeling that their presence is markedly inappropriate, form an addition meaningless except to the donor of the picture: they are the patron-saints of the Cardinal's father and uncle, Julian and Laurence.

Raphael had just finished the "Transfiguration",—perhaps the last transitions still remained to be added, which would have softened down the over-harsh juxtapositions of colour in the lower half of the picture—when death overtook him. He was attacked by a violent fever, which, in the overwrought state in which he had been for some time past, he had not the stamina to resist. From the poetical tribute which Count Castiglione paid to the memory of his friend, it might be inferred that Raphael contracted the fever in the course of his excavations; for the theme of the poem is, that Death struck him down in indignation at his undertaking to resuscitate the dead city. An ill-advised bleeding hastened the progress of the malady, which only lasted a few days. Raphael prepared himself for death and set all his affairs in order with the utmost care. On Good

Friday (6th April) in the year 1520 he passed away. He had hardly reached the threshold of mature manhood, and yet had accomplished such a work as it has seldom been given to an artist to perform in a course of a long life. All Rome spoke of nothing but Raphael's death; it was rumoured that cracks had opened in the Vatican Palace during the night of his departure, so that it threatened to fall. The grief was universal, for everyone who came into contact with him had loved him for his amiability. The Pope wept bitterly, and the foreign ambassadors sent their masters detailed reports of the sad occurrence. The body lay in state in the studio, with the picture of the Transfiguration standing at its head. Raphael had chosen as his burial-place the finest building in Rome, and the best preserved monument of ancient architecture, the Pantheon. According to his will the sculptor Lorenzetto executed a marble statue of the Madonna, which was placed between the porphyry columns of one of the fine old tabernacles. Hard by a simple plate with an inscription was let into the marble facing to mark the place of the grave. Cardinal Bembo composed the short Latin epitaph, with verses to this effect:

Nature, while Raphael lived, must fear defeat:
He died; she too prepared her death to meet.



(After an original photograph by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach (Alsace) and Paris.)



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